



**MOHAMMAD ALI PASHA AND HIS
CONTRIBUTION TO THE MODERNISATION
OF EGYPT**

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Mohammad Ali Pasha
(1769 - 1849)

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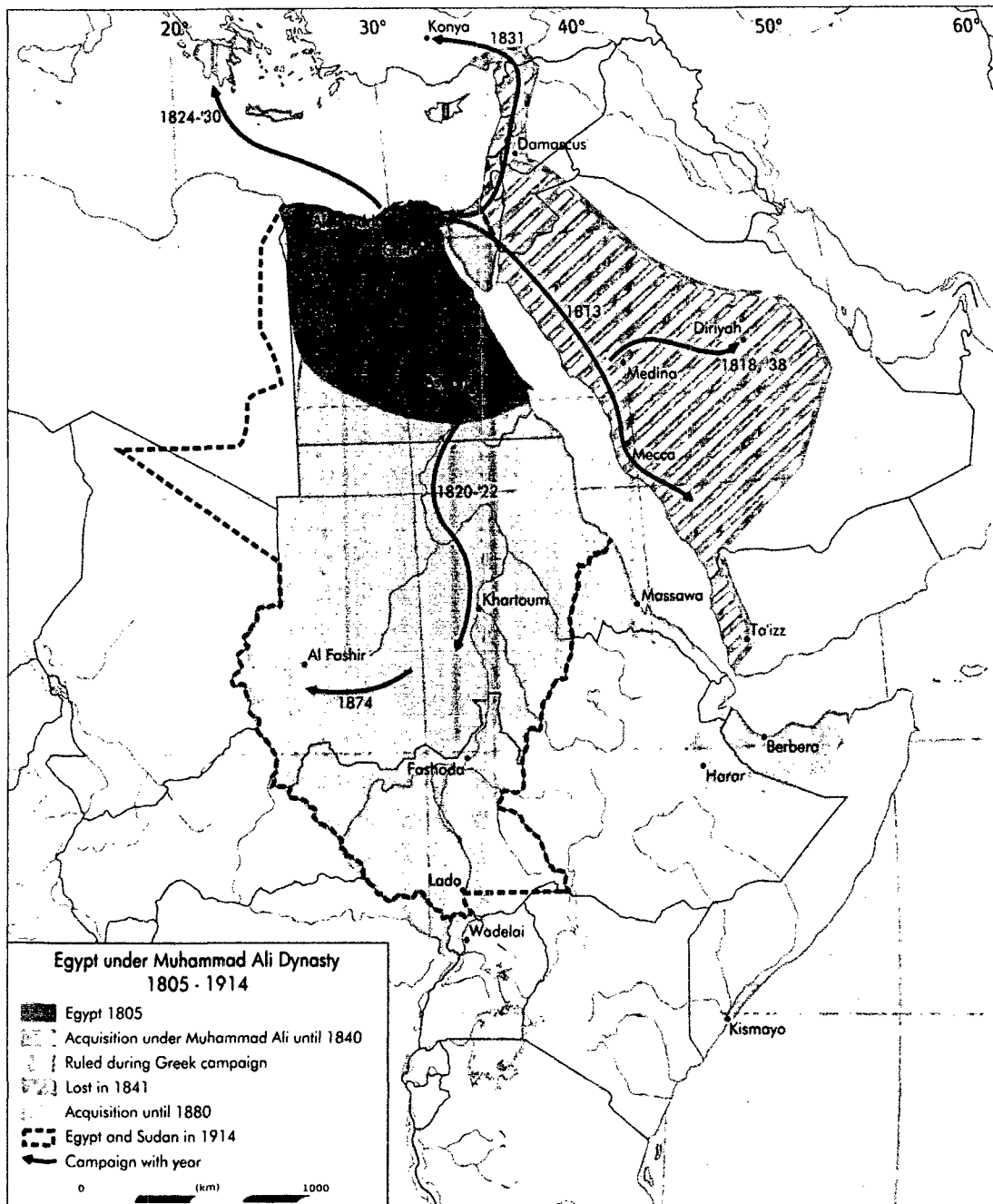
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Egypt under Mohammad Ali Dynasty Map

In the history of Middle East civilization Egypt enjoys an important place since a long time. It plays a connecting link between the countries of the East and West. Egypt is located in the northeast corner of the African continent, and borders Libya to the west, Sudan to the south, and Israel proper as well as the Hamas-administered Palestinian territory of the Gaza strip to the northeast. To the north of Egypt is the Mediterranean, to the east and Red Sea. The Sinai Peninsula (seenaa), technically located on the Asian continent is located in the northeast. To the southwest of Sinai is the Gulf of Suez (Khaleej as-suways) and to the southeast of the peninsula is the Gulf of Aqaba (Khaleej al-‘aqaba). On the eastern side of the Gulf of Aqaba is Saudi Arabia, and in the north of the gulf are the Israeli and Jordanian ports of Eilat and Aqaba respectively.¹

The terms of Upper Egypt (as-as ‘eed) and Lower Egypt refer to southern and northern Egypt respectively, because Upper Egypt is upriver, and vice versa. Cairo is the largest city of Egypt and in all Africa and the Arab world, with a population of 7.8 million, and is located in Lower Egypt on the Nile, south of the beginning of the Delta. Alexandria is the second largest city, with 4.1 million people, and is located not on the Nile, but on the Mediterranean coast, west of the Delta. The Nile Delta is crucially important to Egypt’s agriculture and industry, but is also a poorer area of Egypt as compared to Alexandria.²

On the other hand, Egypt has been a refuge for civilization whenever it faced danger. The country, now known as the Arab Republic of Egypt, is culturally an ancient land. There was already much cultural activity by the time Herodotus, the great Greek historian, arrived in Egypt in 450B.C. to record his observations about the descendants of Pharaohs. There is little agreement among modern historians about when the country was first inhabited, and by whom. Some have theorized that Africans moved into the Nile valley from the south----from Nubia-----and others say that it was the Libyans from the West and the tribes from the Arabian Desert to the East who initially established outposts of human kind in Egypt. However, there was a thriving, robust civilization in Egypt by 400B.C; and by 3100 B.C. King Menes had formed a monarchical entity that extended from Aswan in the South to the Mediterranean in the North. Historical records of Egypt date back to Menes, who formed the first of the 30 dynasties into which Egyptian history prior to the invasion by Alexander is divided. The Phara-onic rule eventually resulted not only in the creation of such massive monuments as the pyramid of Giza (481 feet high) the sphinx and the colossi of mammon but also in seminal development in mathematics and writing.³

Modern Egypt is predominantly Muslim. Following the death of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) in 632 A.D. Arab armies swept through what is known as the Middle East. During the time of Khalifa Umar, an Arab

army led by Amr ibin al- As conquered Egypt and established an Arab Empire there. The Empire flourished and the Muslim established Cairo, a great center of power and learning. The Arabs translated Greek works and Philosophy, Science, Mathematics and Medicine; and they invented Trigonometry and Algebra (a word derived) from the Arabic, 'Al-jabr', meaning the reunion of broken parts. In course of time Egypt became an Arabic speaking country, with a Muslim majority. Politically, the Egyptian Arabian era may be divided into a number of dynastic periods: the Umayyad Caliphate, the Abbasid Dynasty. The Tulunid and in 969 A.D., the Fatimid Dynasty (of the shia sect) , in the beginning of which Egypt passed through a golden age and enjoyed the zenith of its prosperity; the Ayyubi Dynasty and the Mamluk (slave) Dynasties (1252 -1517). During some of these Egypt was ruled as a province from outside. In others, during the period of first split within the Arab Empire, Egypt's local (but always foreign) rulers declared their independence and sovereignty. At still other times, Egypt herself became the headquarter of an Arab Caliphate and empire.⁴

After the Seljuk Turks, Egypt came to be dominated by Mamluk Sultans (1250-1517) who were of the slave origin. The greatest of these Sultans was Baybars (1260-77) who reversed the tide of Mongol invasion and also regained the lost territory from the crusaders. Two other

prominent Sultans of the Slave Dynasty were Al-Nasir (1293-1340) and Qait Bey (1468-95).⁵

In 1517, when Ottoman Sultan Salim I defeated the Mamluk Sultan, Egypt passed under the Suzerainty and control of Ottomans Empire. In 1798 French armies under Napoleon Bonaparte invaded and occupied parts of Egypt, but their hold on the country did not last long and, in 1801, they were driven out by a joint British Ottoman force.⁶

With the advent of an Albanian officer in the Ottoman army, Mohammad Ali Pasha and his successors (1805-63), Egypt experienced an era of prosperity and modernization. He was appointed as the Governor of Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan in 1805, but soon he snatched power from the hands of ruling Mamluks and he became the dominant power of the country. Then as now, it was the River Nile that formed the great nourishing Spine of Egypt. Muhammad Ali recognized the potential of the Nile, and so he introduced cotton from India, initiated modern irrigation, redistributed land and opened western style school. To save his personnel from the dust of lethargy, he constantly engaged his armies on the war fronts and brought about tremendous reforms in them.

However, Muhammad Ali, who has been called the "**father of modern Egypt**," was able to attain control of Egypt because of his own leadership abilities and political shrewdness but also because the country seemed to be slipping into anarchy. The urban notables and the ulama

believed that Muhammad Ali was the only leader capable of bringing order and security to the country. The Ottoman government, however, aware of the threat Muhammad Ali represented to the central authority, attempted to get rid of him by making him governor of the Hijaz. Eventually, the Ottomans capitulated to Egyptian pressure, and in June 1805, they appointed Muhammad Ali, governor of Egypt.

Between 1805 and 1811, Muhammad Ali consolidated his position in Egypt by defeating the Mamluks and bringing Upper Egypt under his control. Finally, in March 1811, Muhammad Ali had sixty-four Mamluks, including twenty-four Beys, assassinated in the Citadel. From then on, Muhammad Ali was the sole ruler of Egypt. Muhammad Ali represented the successful continuation of policies begun by the Mamluk Ali Bey al Kabir. Like Ali Bey, Muhammad Ali had great ambitions. He, too, wanted to detach Egypt from the Ottoman Empire, and he realized that to do so Egypt had to be strong, economically and militarily.

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Before the Ottomans occupation of Egypt, it was for quite a long period from 1250A.D. till 1517A.D. remained under the control of Mamluks. They lost their control over it in 1517A.D. But again under the Ottomans empire these Mamluks regained their lost power and control over major parts of Egypt in the eighteenth century A.D. As a matter of fact, although the Ottomans conquered Egypt and annexed it to their empire, yet internally the Mamluks maintained their control and got benefited with all privileges available there. Generally their interest reached to such an extent that they did not hesitate to exploit the peasantry. According to the sources about 20,000 Mamluks shared the rule in the country under the Ottoman rule.¹

The Mamluks, who were enjoying their power in that period in Egypt, were not a unified force. Rather they were divided into different faction who had a type of war among themselves mainly for gaining their control over Egypt and getting benefits of all the riches there. In the continued clash among these Mamluks the country became much weak and in this the Qazdgli faction became victorious in 1756 A.D. This could not continue for long as the disturbance continued in later period as the followers of the two factions again sub split into two. Each of these factions was led by two leaders. One of these two factions was led by its two leaders Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey. Under these leaders this group became victorious in 1778 A.D. Although they became victorious but the

fighting for the control over the land could not be stopped, this fighting continued until 1785 A.D. when they came to an understanding. During this period a number of peace agreements were signed by them but every time the agreement was broken by them due to their internal rivalry and interests.²

Another point of dissatisfaction among the people of the country and disturbance was due to the fact that during this period foreign merchants got threatened by Murad Bey. In fact, he was dependent on the taxes paid by the merchants. 1786 A.D. attack on Alexandrian merchants led these merchants to appeal to ottoman government of Istanbul. Although the Ottoman government was already in consideration to launch an expedition to regain the complete control, yet this appeal became an immediate cause of the attack. The Ottoman army arrived there in july1786 A.D. Due to this expedition both Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey had to take refuge in Upper Egypt. With this, a new group came to power there. Later on the faction led by Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey controlled the southern region of Egypt. While at Cairo Ismail, the leader of another faction had his control. In this way, both the factions of Mamluks established their rules in two deferent parts of Egypt. The balance of these two powers came to an end in 1791 A.D. when Ismail was killed and Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey reestablished their rule at Cairo and annexed it to their region.

Due to the internal conflict and fighting between the Mamluks faction to achieve power, Egypt suffered heavy losses in different. This left a negative impact to the Egyptian trade. In the last years of their fighting, Alexandria was almost ruined while the towns such as Damietta and Rosetta had lost over half of their population and the population of Cairo reduced to only 40,000 people by the French arrival in Egypt.³

By the end of the 18th century France had become a great power of Europe. It was necessary for it to defeat Britain at such places that could have Britain more on every front. At this view Egypt was supposed by it the most important place to attack. It is because of the fact that Egypt was the place through which the wealth was flowing from British India to Britain. In the letter Napoleon wrote to Taliran in the following words, “The time is not for when we will feel that the occupation of Egypt was necessary to give blow to England.”⁴ Taliran knew the importance of Egypt very well. It is therefore, he put the proposal before the French government that showed the importance of the occupation of Egypt by the French. He further pointed out “by establishing French rule in Egypt there will be a great revolution in the European trade that will particularly have England. Due to this the British power in India that is the cause of the glory of England will be completely destroyed. This revolution will be beneficial in every condition for the Republic of France.”⁵

Focusing the trade with India he further said, “We should not forget that ancient and modern nations that had controlled the Indian trade they had reached at the economical climax when the Republic of France will be the master of Cairo then we will not need to worry that who has the control of sea routes.”⁶ In this way the plan to control Egypt was carried out and Napoleon was appointed without any opposition the leader of the expedition to Egypt. To establish the French superiority over Britain it became necessary for France to control Egypt and stop its trade and flow of wealth from British India. In 1798 Napoleon attacked Egypt and occupied, it proved to be an attack on both Britain and Turkey as Egypt was then a province of Ottoman Empire and it caused much economical damage to England.

Napoleon Bonaparte was supposed to be the ablest commander of the French army. He was born 1769 A.D. in the city of Ajaccio that lies in mountainous island of Corsica.⁷ This island of Corsica lies in the Mediterranean Sea near Italy. Both of his parents, Charles Bonaparte and Marie Letizia were very courageous and renowned personalities as they both worked for the freedom of the island from the occupation of Genoa. Later this island was purchased by France from it. Napoleon Bonaparte always used to say that first seen he saw in the world was the seen of the freedom drown in the blood. He meant to say that in the freedom struggle that he saw bloody in which a large number, of people killed.⁸ The people

of Corsica were very proud of their heritage. Being a small and weak island it had often been taken over by larger and more powerful countries and ruled over it. In the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D the Republic of Genoa controlled this island. Genoa was a city-state that later became part of Italy.

Later the king, of France, Louis XV wanted to conquer this island. Although he might face some resistance from that he would have to fight a small patriotic the small army of the island that but was not a major problem for his large and more powerful army. In this way French army took over the island in May 1769 A.D very easily crushing those who offered the resistance to it. When Napoleon Bonaparte was born three months later, his homeland was under French rule.⁹

Napoleon Bonaparte well known from the day of his student life as an irritable and self-respect, he was a man of different and independent nature as he always said the lives of great personalities relate to their works and the government rule but I have my views like a Roman heroes. "When I will join the army the sword no doubt I will be of France but I will use its edge (the sword itself) by my own choice."¹⁰ Many stories related to the Napoleon's early life have been narrated by different authors. He has been described as a temperamental child who was habitual of destroying the houseplants and furniture in his home. Some critics told about him that he was willful and stubborn. Unfortunately diaries, letters

or records of that time are available that may confirm the statements given by his critics. Letizia his mother the story of an occasion that she once gave paints to her children and told them to decorate a wall in there play room. Napoleons, sibling painted pictures of the puppets as they liked to play with them. But Napoleon painted the pictures of soldiers.¹¹

As Napoleon was a man of a quite nature, he always use to think about the military and to join it. As a young boy, he frequently played with the soldiers and enjoyed dressing up like them. He made the French soldiers his friends who stationed who at the garrison near to his home. His mother Letizia did not like his tendency to lie as he was habitual of it being a sensible and an honest lady she could not tolerate such behavior from his children. When she came to know about his lies he whipped him soundly. Throughout Napoleon's childhood, Letizia served as the disciplinarian while his father was more likely to spoil him. At the age of six, Napoleon started going to school in Corsica. In 1779 he made his mind to join army and prepared to attend the royal military academy at Brienne-le-chateau in eastern France. As it was an important government institution most of the students there were the sons of wealthy people and important personalities because his father was an ordinary person Napoleon's family could not afford to send him there, but Carlo (a Carlo friend of Napoleon father) had friendship with the French governor in Corsica and managed to get a scholarship for Napoleon.¹²

Before Napoleon could succeed in getting admission in a French military school, he had to learn the French language very well. Napoleon's native language, like that of other Corsicans, was mixed with the Italian dialect. On his arrival to France, Napoleon spent four months at a small preparatory school in Autun, about two hundred miles southeast of Paris, where he learnt the language of this country. These four months proved to be the worst period of his life. It is because of the fact that the French supposed the people of Corsica inferior to them. They also treated them in a bad manner, thinking them uncultured people; this treatment was beyond the expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte as he was unaware of their mentality and behavior. As he did not belong to a very rich family, he was not in a position to afford the stylish and expensive clothing as was worn by the other students of the institution. It is therefore, Napoleon looked to be quite different from his classmates. Another reason of this difference between him and his classmate was that he spoke French with a strong Italian accent while other students used to speak the French language fluently. Due to these causes, he could not stand beside the other French students. Hence, the sense of inferiority complex developed in his mind.

After passing these difficult days, he finally joined the military academy at Brienne in April 1779 A.D. Although he joined this academy of higher reputation, but he had to face some problems of the same nature there. Because of this too, he could not mix up with other students

there. During the earlier period his stay at the academy he could not remain happy and satisfied. Some historians described Napoleon as “gloomy and fierce beyond measure”¹³ furthermore he was lost his temperamental and as a person annoyed by other people. The later period spent by him there was cheerful for him as he did well in his classes there and won awards in mathematics and ancient history. Although he was neither the ablest student nor the most popular at school, yet due to his personality and ability, he was believed by his teachers, to have potential to be an exceptional military officer.

In 1784, the inspector of military college visited Brienne to evaluate the students and recommended the best candidates for advancement. He found “cadet de Bonaparte” to be “docile, gentle, honest, regular, and grateful in his habits.”¹⁴ The inspector felt that Napoleon was able to join the military. So he was selected to join the Ecole Militaire in Paris for the last phase of his military training. The Ecole Militaire was one of the finest military schools in Europe. Joining it was an important opportunity for any young man aspiring to a career in the military. In this way fifteen years old Napoleon began his studies at the Ecole Militaire in later 1784 A.D.

Four months after his joining the Ecole Militaire academy he received the news of his father’s death due to stomach cancer. Letizia made all efforts to continue the education of her children. As she was

facing financial hardship, it proved her this great sacrifice. Meanwhile, Napoleon continued working hard and because of this he performed well at the Ecole Militaire. He got mastery in mathematics and after tutored the less able students. Napoleon showed a keen interest in battle. Strategies and the use of artillery in war, it is because of his interest he read numerous books about war during the days of this youth.¹⁵

Napoleon impressed his teachers so much that he was included among those students who were allowed to take their final examination a year early. In 1785 A.D. Napoleon passed the tests with flying colors, completing the schools two years course in just one year. At sixteen he became one of the youngest military officers ever appointed in France. He also became specialized in weapons. He became the first artillery lieutenant from Corsica.¹⁶ Following his graduation from the Ecole Militaire, at the same time, he was aware that his family had been struggled since his father's death. He wanted to help his family in its affairs in spite of all problems his family was facing for him. France was out of the question. Napoleon spent the next ten month serving the La Fere Army regiment stationed in the town of Valence on the Rohane River in southeastern France.

It is said that this was one of the happiest periods in my life. He relished the hours he spent learning more about the artillery. In this period he gained valuable hands on experience dealing with cannons. It

was the time when after working with weapons all day; he spent most night in reading. He particularly liked reading the books on history and politics. He along with this read everything he could about war strategy. Finally in September 1786, Napoleon got opportunity to return to his home and meet his family. He had accomplished a lot in these eight years when he had been away from his home. The Corsicans treated him like a celebrity, and he savored every minute of it. After a period of about two years, in 1788, Napoleon re-joined the LaFere regiment in Auxonne, France for his further training. Napoleon seemed destined to enjoy a modest career as an officer in the French army.¹⁷ Such aspiration seems to be unrealistic for him as the highest military posts in the country were generally reserved for the sons, of wealthy and important nobles. But Napoleon's life and career possibilities were about to change dramatically.

It was an important time when France wanted the control of Egypt for two major reasons: its commercial and agricultural potential and strategic importance of Egypt in connection with the Anglo-French rivalry. During the 18th century the principal share of European trade with Egypt was of the French merchant. The French also considered Egypt as a source of grain and other materials. In strategic terms, French control of Egypt could be used to threaten British commercial interest in the region and took British overland route to India.¹⁸

Through the invasion of Egypt Napoleon Bonaparte wanted to get a lot of advantages. First he wished to get his residence in a good colony. Then he thought to consolidate his position at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, whence he could attack the Ottoman Empire. After that, he planned to disturb England by disorganizing its connection with India. Finally he wanted obtain a base for long desired campaign against India.¹⁹ Napoleon's intrusion of Egypt in 1798 is significant primarily for two things: first, it discredited the authority of the Mamluks Beys and severed for all practical purposes the province of Egypt from the Ottoman kingdom. Second, it introduced educated Egyptians to ideas of the French revolution.²⁰

When French army reached at Alexandria on 1st July 1798, it was opposed by the people of Egypt, but they were suppressed by the French army, within a certain period it occupied Cairo also. The French army which had sailed from Toulon on May 19th was accompanied by a commission of scholars and hundreds of savants. They included professors, orient lists, scientist, technicians, inventors, interpreters, printers and artists whose function was to investigate every aspect of life in ancient and contemporary Egypt. Napoleon faced little difficulty in occupying Alexandria after a resistance which lasted only five days. In this resistance the French army lost its forty soldiers whose bodies were

buried at the foot of Popeye's pillar paying homage to them. Napoleon ordered their names to be inscribed on it to commemorate.²¹

Napoleon, who was the commander of the French army, gave a proclamation to the people of Egypt on same day; such a proclamation was based on French revolutionary ideas in which he also focused on colonialist threats and on religious sentiments of the more backward sections of the population. In this way, he portrayed himself a devout Muslim and true friend of them and patron of Islam. To occupy Egypt, this was the richest province of Ottoman Empire at the time he declared himself a "friend of Turkish Sultan". His other purpose to come Egypt was to punish Mamluks.²² Whom he declared the enemies of the Sultan, the Egyptian people and French, Napoleon started his proclamation with the name of all as he said,

"In the name of Allah, the Gracious, and the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no God but Allah. He has no offspring and no partner. In the name of French nation founded on the basis of liberty and equality. For many centuries these Mamluks have oppressed this most beautiful country of the world. But Allah, the ruler of heavens, has willed that their reign shall end." He further said, "O people of Egypt! They (the Mamluks) will tell you that I have only come to this country in order to destroy your religion; believe them not. Answer that I have come to rescue you from the hands of the oppressors. And that I worship Allah

for more than the Mamluks ever did, and respect his Prophet and the Glorious Quran”. In Egypt, there were once great cities, big canals and flourishing trade; but all this has been ruined by tyranny and covetousness of the Mamluks. ‘O, Shaykhs, Qadis and Imams tell the people we also are true Muslims. Was into we who expelled the knight of Malta who used to claim that God had ordered them to fight the Muslims? Where we not always sincerer friend of the Ottoman Sultan (May Allah his wishes) and enemies of his enemies.²³ In this way, his proclamation ended with colonial threat as he remarked in his proclamation, “Thrice happy are they who shall be with us. They shall prosper. Happy are they who remain natural, for they still have time to join us, but woe unto them who take up arms for the Mamluks. They shall perish. All rebellious villages will be burnt.”²⁴

After giving his proclamation he issued certain orders to the people of Egypt. In his words, (1) “each village situated at a distance not more than three hour’s march from route of the French army must send a delegation to the General of the Army in order to inform him that the population has capitulated and hoisted the tri- colored French banner.” (2) “All rebellious villages will be burnt.” (3) “Every village that capitulates must also raise banner of our friend and the Ottoman Sultan (May Allah grant him long life).” (4) “The village sheikhs must guard the Mamlukes’ (Mamluks) property.” (5) “The Sheikhs, Ulama, Qazi and Imams retain their function. In the mosque, prayers will be afforded to Allah as usual.

The Egyptian will offer a thanksgiving for their deliverance from the Mamluks, exclaiming: 'Glory to the Ottoman Sultan! Glory to the French army! Cursed be the Mamluks; happiness to the Egyptian people!'"²⁵

With the news of the French occupation the Mamluks came into a panic. In order to exploit the religious sentiments of the people, during his rule over Egypt Napoleon made his efforts to show himself a friend of Egyptian people. For the purpose he called himself Ali Bonabarda Pasha, regularly visited the mosques in Friday prayers and used he converted one of his Generals, Jacques Menaus to Islam who, later, other to be known with the name Abd-Allah.²⁶ In other words it may be said that Napoleon posed himself to be a Muslim, so that, the Egyptian people accept him as their friend and his occupation of the Egyptian land. In spite of all his efforts, promises and threats, the Egyptians did never accept the French occupation of the country as they always regarded the French as the invaders who forcefully captured their country in the regional and international interest of France. They were of the view that, all the efforts made by Napoleon to come closer to the people of Egypt were due to their interest in the country.

Meanwhile, Napoleon was setting up his military at Alexandria. He occupied all the strategic buildings of the city and began to set up artillery inside and outside the city. He also began to make strong contacts with the Sheikhs. To a greater extent he convinced them to cooperate with

him. The Mamluks Sheikhs seemed to be very impressed with the European culture.²⁷

BATTLE OF CAIRO:

After one week of his arrival at Alexandria, Napoleon left the city for Cairo deputing one contingent there under the command of general Keleber. On the way to Cairo the French army suffered a lot as the Arabs covered all the wells by stones. The French who were habitual of the cold season could not tolerate the harsh heat of the desert. Moreover, they suffered a lot from thirst due to the closure of the wells. In this way they could hardly get a drop of water. Consequently the soldiers started fighting among themselves for water. This was not the case of the soldiers only but the army officers got involved in the fighting for water. In spite of this unfavorable conditions Napoleon remained determined to achieve his goal. One day a soldier of the army fearlessly asked Napoleon “Shall we go to India in such a way in this condition?” Napoleon replied “No I can’t begin this expedition with the soldiers like you.”²⁸ On this reply he and his companions became ashamed.

BATTLE OF PYRAMIDS:

Sultan of Mamluks Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey were the real head of Egypt at the time of French occupation of Egypt. They tried to their best to prevent French army for which they sent a cavalry of 800,

horsemen. Their cavalry was easily defeated by Napoleon. It was a great victory of Napoleon but when he was near of Cairo he again faced the challenge of Murad Bey near Anbata on 21st July 1798. There Murad Bey, along with his about 12 thousand horsemen was determined to protect his capital. In This Battle Mamluks bravery surprised the French. However this astonishing bravery could not became successful before the bullets. Moreover, the French army was stronger as they had 30,000 experienced soldiers. In compression to French army Murad Bey had only 12000, army men in which there were only 5000 Mamluks and rest were the non experienced artisans. With the defeat of Murad Bey Napoleon's marched towards Cairo was clear.²⁹ In this way, he formally captured Cairo after six days. During his stay of two weeks there in Cairo, Napoleon took all measures for the good administration and protection of the city. Then he moved to search Ibrahim Bey. He defeated Ibrahim Bey and made him to flee away to Syria.

BATTLE OF NILE:

The battle of Nile played on important role in the French army as well as Egyptian history because in this battle the squadron of the British admiral namely Nelson on 1st August, 1798 entered the Bay of Abuqair and destroyed the French fleet. In this attack only four out of fifteen French vessels escaped and fled to Malta. The French expedition made cut off from its country that made its position very precarious.³⁰

Now, Napoleon had to stay at Cairo without any further help from France with all his capabilities. He then concentrated on the administration and development of various science and technology. In this period, Napoleon, in this way proved to be the first administration of Egypt, in modern times to think Egypt as his nation, distinct from both Turks and Mamluks.³¹

Napoleon established a purely national diwan or Council composed of nine grand Sheikhs, chosen from amongst the Sheikhs of Al – Azhar. A tenth Sheikh was appointed as secretary of the Council. It was made prerogative of the members to choose their own president by adopting the system of secret ballot.³² In the military order, dated July 25, establishing the diwan, Napoleon decreed, “the members shall appoint two officers to superintend to police and three officials to control the markets and to be responsible for provisioning the capital, and three others to undertake the burial of the dead Cairo and its suburbs.” According to these decree three members of the diwan were made to be present regularly. Like the capital, Cairo, the provinces were also governed similarly. A National Diwan, composed of seven councilors was also formed to assist the French military government the divans were supposed to be only advisory bodies whose deliberations were made in the presence of a French commissioner. All the members of the diwans were made to swear fealty to the French Republic and not to harm the French interest in way.³³

Napoleon was such a devoted officer of French army that he is known for several new developments of his army. He adopted such techniques which fulfilled various kinds of requirements of the army. He brought a number of experts and artisans of various fields with him from Toulon. Some of them started agriculture the land to solve the problem of grain shortage. Consequently the idea of mill emerged wide mills during the period of his occupation of the country. Some of these experts contributed to the gardening of grapes whereas some used their skill to make the wine for the soldiers.³⁴

Napoleon's contribution in term of socio cultural development particularly education and technology was remarkable. For the development of science and learning in Egypt he brought with him a band of scholars of various fields consisting of one hundred and sixty seven Mathematicians, Engineers, Architects, Hydrologists, Istorians, Egyptologists, authors and archaeologists who promptly began to study the ancient Egyptian monuments, language, history and geography, their works not only exercised influence an Egyptian people they helped them to get acquainted with different fields of science and technology. This became helpful to them to develop these fields. He, in this way, led a firm foundation of cultural links between France and the land of the Nile.³⁵

The French expedition against Egypt in 1798 was not a purely military composition. The army had with it a group of French savants

whose main purpose was to conduct the scientific researches necessary for the maintenance of the French rule. Those scholars founded 'L, institute Francais, and immortalized its name by a number of important academic and scientific achievements which became the basis of the writing of other valuable works produced by later schools. The institute had a large library of Arabic books. Shaikh al Jabarti who was himself well known as a mathematician, expressed his admiration for the French enthusiasm for learning. Being a mathematician and having interest education and learning he used to visit the library and attend lectures delivered by French scholars on electricity and chemistry.³⁶

Napoleon Bonaparte established an institute in Egypt namely 'The institute d, Egypt' as an academy for the scientists, historians and men of letters there. All these scholars accompanied him in his expedition from France. The purpose of the establishment of this institute was obvious as he wanted to have direct relationship with the people of the country for the smooth functioning of the administration there.³⁷ After the French army became victorious in the battle of the pyramids they stayed at Cairo keeping in view the importance of this city being the capital of the country because of the importance of this city he felt it necessary to establish this academy there instead of any other place in the country.

The scientists and academicians of this institute were divided disciplines like mathematics, physics, political, Economy, literature and

art. Although it was desired to appoint 12 members in each discipline but at the initial stage there were only 36 members there Gaspard Monge was appointed the first president of the institute, while Napoleon made himself its vice-president. In each of the disciplines, at least one scholar appears to be prominent. For instance, Jean-Baptiste Fourier was most prominent in the mathematics section while Vivant and Claude Louis Berthollet prominent scholars in physics section.³⁸

The main purpose of the institute was to serve as a headquarters for the learned elite based in Cairo. There the compilation of the research work the members of the commission who were working throughout the country was being due the importance of the institute can be realized from the fact that some very important and valuable works were compiled during the brief sojourn of the French in Egypt. Studies of the problem of fuel, water power and the raw materials available in the country for the manufacture of gunpowder; legislation the question of civil and penal Jurisdiction, the state of education and its possible reform agricultural projects such as the cultivation of grapes and wheat and drilling of water wells in desert was made there in the institute furthermore the laboratories for chemical and physical experiments were set up. In the institute the archeological studies was also started along with excavations over a wide area where the topographical and other maps of the country including the Nile and its canals and banks were drawn. In addition the

studies of the animal and the plant life as well as the available minerals and the geological formation of the soil, oases and lakes were also started there.³⁹

The French expedition to Egypt was of the great importance that with it, the western cultural impact was introduced in the Middle East. This impact on the area was of course gradual and indirect in these brief three years occupation (1798/1801) but lasted long even after the French had evacuated Egypt.

With first contact between the western and Arabic thoughts and cultures in Egypt it began the intellectual awakening in the Arab world. With this the Arabs became acquainted of the new sciences that were flourishing in the western countries along with the material developments. In his chronicle "Ajā' ib al athar" Al Jabarti expresses his wonder at some chemical experiments which were conducted of the laboratory of the institute. He describes them in his own words. He says,

"Among the strongest things I saw at that place (the laboratory) was that one of them took one of the bottles containing distilled water and poured a little liquid from another bottle. The two liquids (when mixed) rose, and a coloured cloud rose there from and later disappeared. The contents of the tube dried up, and became a yellow stone....a dry stone we examined. This he did again using different liquids and result a blue stone formed. Repeating the experiment for a third time with other liquids he produced a

ruby red stone. Further, he took a pink of white powder, put it on an anvil and struck it gently with a hammer, with which then a terrific sound ensued a sound similar to that of a gun, which gave us a shock so they lounged at us.”⁴⁰

The experiment was of great success which brought Napoleon in wider fame. But his fame is not confined only to the scientific aspect but his contribution to several other fields is praiseworthy. His invasion of Egypt was approach making in more than one way. It worked at the beginning of the break with the past. Along with his other equipment, the French invaders brought to Cairo an Arabic press which he had plundered from Vatican (in Rome).

The two things introduced by the French were of wider impact upon the intellectual and political evolution of Egypt in the nineteenth century. One was Arabic printing press the other was the organization of an official press. The French started publishing the “*Courrier de l’Egypte*,” a political journal, and the *decade Egyptiens*, a monthly scientific and economic journal which reported findings and discussions of the institute members. As for the printing press it is reported that Napoleon secured Arabic letters for it from the Vatican, and appointed an orientalist Marcel to direct it. He made it the national press and it was used for the printing of French proclamations to the Egyptian people in Arabic language. Meanwhile the French scientists and engineers worked under the

governorship of general Menou on the improvement of roads and the construction of arsenal and factories. At the same time they erected a theatre there. They made great efforts in the service of science and the arts. Although the institute was closed with the departure of the French army from Egypt in 1801, but it was re-established in Alexandria in 1859, in view of its great service for science, under the honorary chairmanship of Jomard. Later on the model of the institute a new institute was founded in Cairo to carry on the scientific researches and scholarly works begun by the French scholars.⁴¹

Napoleon Bonaparte founded a medical school at Cairo which is still running there. This was headed by French physician, Clot Bey. Napoleon started an academy of science with a library in Cairo that is still survived. Napoleon moreover, laid the foundation of an institute of literature of much academic importance.⁴²

The sincere endeavour and achievements of Napoleon in the field of sciences and literature shows his intentions to establish co-ordial relation with the people of Egypt influenced them and stay there for more periods in Egypt. For that purpose, he established Madarsah, constructed roads and canals along with other academic and scientific contributions. He also forged his soldiers to get married to Egyptian women. The soldiers were also happy in Egyptian mode of life and Cairo's allurements made them to forget France.⁴³

In spite of all the efforts made by the French to modernize, Egypt, and to develop all the fields of learning, the Egyptians were dissatisfied with the French occupation of the country and their rule there. It is because of the fact that the Egyptians at that time were complete strangers with regard to the government of their own country. When Napoleon asked the members of the diwan to choose competent Egyptian to control the police and the markets, the Sheikhs were shocked by that Idea. Only the Mamluks and Turks who were happy with the French could inspire fear and command respect and obedience from the people. For the invaders, Napoleon adopted a policy and Turks were appointed on different posts. But when the post of chief judge fell vacant through the desertion of its occupant, Napoleon decided to appoint an Egyptian on it as it was a post of highly repute. One of the dissatisfied Sheikhs remarked that Napoleon should at least know the Arabic language so that he could become aware of the grievances of the litigants without the intermediary of a third person. The Sheikh supposed it illegal that anyone other than the representative of the Sultan could pronounce the word of law in the court. He, further more advised that the son of the late chief judge, a mere boy of seventeen should take the post vacated by his father in accordance with feudal custom. Bonaparte rejected it and reminded that he was only following the custom observed in the golden days of Islam when the caliphs used to choose judge from among the most learned of the Arab

community. The Sheikhs had to comply with Napoleon's wishes, and so they elected Sheikh Al Arishi as chief judge.⁴⁴

Contrary to the hope of Napoleon that the Egyptians would accept the French rule there, being satisfied and influenced by his development works, the Egyptian did the opposite and never accepts. They proved to be the misunderstanding of Napoleon about Egyptians. This dissatisfaction became clear very soon when on 21st October 1798 a major revolt broke out there. In this revolt a large number of French soldiers were killed. However, this attempt of the Egyptian people to get rid of the French occupation could not become successful. As a result they were severely punished by the French army.

A French historian Ernest Hamel, discussing this revolt said, "This revolt was very dangerous, wild and suppressive, military groups attacked on revolutionaries. And in fact, they were laid slaughtered. Bonaparte ordered that all armed residents who were found on road, they would be killed. Revolutionaries accepted obedience soon although more than five thousand people were killed Victor Napoleon's kindness. For a particular period thirty prisoners were killed daily so that people would be terrorized. One day French army brought a flock of mules towards Cairo on which canvas bag. The French soldiers opened all canvas bags are loaded. One by one from which hundred of heads were appeared. What was the crime of these unlucky people? Only that they wanted to free

their country, which was destroyed by the enemy's attack. There is no doubt that the black people of desert not make a good opinion for European civilization".⁴⁵

PROCLAMATION OF WAR:

Although Egypt was under the control of the Mamluks at the time of its conquest by the Napoleon but the overall rulers of Egypt were Ottomans and the Mamluks ruled it as the Ottomans governed under the title of Pasha. Napoleon's occupation of Egypt was not only attacked Ottoman area but also attacked the interests of Britain as it affected the British movement towards India through the Egyptian land. As the Ottoman's navy was not so powerful that it could stop the help extended to Napoleon from France, it had to ally with Britain and Russia. It is because of the fact that Britain was directly affected by French attack on Egypt and Russia was an enemy of the France. Instead of declaring war against France, Sultan Salim thought it necessary to take help from the countries. In this way the navy of the allied army, after declaring war against France started fighting against it. The allied navy conquered the island of Ayoun on September 21st 1798. These islands were being ruled by France. Although Russia and the Ottoman Empire had hostile relations with each other but for their own interests they made this alliance for war against France.

England, Russia and Ottoman Empire altogether started a war against the French army to draw it from the land of Egypt. Sultan Salim send his army from Syria and Rhodes Island to attack the French under the command of Jazzer Pasha. At the same time instead of waiting the attack by the allied force, Napoleon himself moved towards Syria with his 25 thousand soldiers that included Mamluks also. In his expedition Napoleon occupied Al-Arish on 25th Feb. Gaza on 25th February; and Yafa 17th March. The Turk Squadrons comprising of 25th thousand soldiers laid their weapons in Yafa on this condition that they were be considered as war prisoners but instead to obey the agreement Napoleon massacred them all after his victory and occupation of this city. After this he moved towards Akka but not succeeded in occupying it due to different causes. The major reason for this failure was the continuous support the defenders of the city received from the sea side to Akka. Another important reason of this failure was that all the canons, sent by Napoleon, were captured and used by the British admiral Syedni Smith against the French army.

At the same time Damascus force also moved to support the Akkan defenders. In response Napoleon sent general Kleber to stop this force. Near the mount of Tabur (Jabl-e-tabur) both forces met in which Turks surrounded Kleber's force. Napoleon himself came forward and saved Kleber force by defeating Turks army. After this he, along with

General Kleber, came back to Akka, General Kleber finally attacked Akka but again his move proved unsuccessful. At last Napoleon came back to Egypt. When he was moving from Akka towards Egypt he remarked "The destiny of the East was attached with this minor Fort." In the battle of Abuqair, in spite of the earlier victory the Turks lost it. The victorious army of Turks under Mustafa pasha started killing the injured French soldiers that provided Napoleon the opportunity to attack it with a fresh army. This new attack of the French army proved to be successful and finally the French became victorious. This victory again became the reason for Napoleon to control Egypt. In this way Napoleon again became the master of Egypt.⁴⁶

In the meantime Napoleon along with some officers had to go to France in August 22, 1799 for some important work. He gave the responsibility to look after the administration of Egypt to General Kleber. Kleber initiated peace dialogues with the British Sydney Smith, in the agreement with Mr. Smith he agreed to leave Egypt along with his army. On the condition put before the French to put their weapons down General Kleber became so annoyed that he broke the agreement and decided to stay there and fight against the army. Addressing his soldiers he said, "O my soldiers the answer of this disregard would be nothing but the victory."

In the battle of Helios Polis fought on March 20th the Ottoman army comprising of six thousand soldiers defeated the French General Kleber was also killed after some days of his defeat. Menou another important commander succeeded him after his death. Unfortunately he was no more able commander than General Kleber. Even after defeat of the Helios Polis French army remained dominant on Egypt for one more year. In March 1801 a British army troop reached Egypt under the command of General Abercromby and after this another contingent reached there under General Baird. At the time the French army was divided into two parts. One of them was deputed at Cairo and the other was at Alexandria. The Britishers under Abercromby defeated the French at Alexandria. Turks and British forces forced the French at Cairo to surrender. French commander under the pressure agreed to leave Egypt and go back to France. French were permitted to leave Egypt for France who as per the agreement went to their country through the ships provided to them by the Britishers. In this way Egypt came under the control of the Ottoman Empire.

In the mean time between the French evacuation from Egypt and its Ottoman control the Britishers had their control of its many parts. It is because of the fact that the Britishers had no intention to stay there for more. During this short period the Britishers wanted to ensure that there was no more French army in any part of Egypt. At the same time they

wanted to ensure that the French might not come back to Egyptian land and to conquer it.⁴⁷

For the next two years after the French evacuation the Britishers played an important role to protect the remaining Mamluks from the Ottoman revenge. The reason was that the Britishers were not convinced that the Ottoman had the military potential to resist the French and despite the Mamluks poor record the Britishers considered them to be better than the Ottoman. It was also perhaps, the British's with their protection wanted to save their interest in Egypt. It was an issue of controversy between the Ottomans and the French as the Ottomans remained determined during this period, to remove the Mamluks completely. In fact the Mamluks played a significant role in their own downfall. As they had suffered a lot under the French army became very weak. Their only hope was with the unity against the other forces to fight for the control of the country. But in their effort they failed and finally due to their inability to be united they lost all their power in Egypt.

Mohammad Ali proved to be an effective person as a military commander in the civil war that started in the country after the French withdrawal from there. He was an Ottoman military commander who participated in the first battle of Abu-Qaier in 1799. After the French left, he was sent to Egypt as second command of the Albanian contingent to support some of the most professional Ottoman troops. The Albanians

had a reputation for their bravery. In 1803 they mutinied, forcing out the Ottoman governor of Egypt. After the commanding officer Khusrow Pasha, who was a tyrant person, was assassinated and Mohammad Ali became commander in-charge of the Ottoman army and started looking after the country. To capture the Ottoman governorship he joined hands with some warrior Mamluks and sought their help. With this he defeated his temporary allies. By 1805 he was an effective commander of Egypt. His position was also recognized by the Ottoman Sultan as Egypt again came under their direct control. For the next forty years Mohammad Ali ruled Egypt almost as an independent ruler. This is rightly said that with the coming of Mohammad Ali, the governor of Egypt there established hereditary rule and after his death his descendants continued ruling the country till 1952.

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CHAPTER SECOND:

Mohammad Ali Pasha as a Turkish Military Officer

Mohammad Ali Pasha is the name of a person in the history of Egypt who changed the fate of the country by making a revolution in all the fields. These fields included Education, Agriculture, industry, Trade and more importantly Military. By making advancements in all these fields he made Egypt an advanced state, even more superior to the Ottoman Empire of which Egypt was one of the provinces. It is said that some of its departments were so developed that their advancement may be compared to the European states. Mohammad Ali was a common man of Turkish origin who was born in Albania, and passed his early life there when it was under the direct control of the Ottoman Empire. Like other Eastern European states Albania was also conquered and taken under control by earlier Ottoman Sultans. With the establishment of the Ottoman rule there in Albania the Turkish settlement in Albania was started and within a short period a considerable number of Turks settled there. Some of the ancestors of Mohammad Ali also included among those settlers. In this way it may rightly be said that he was an Albanian by birth and Turk by origin.

The life of Mohammad Ali may be divided into three parts: first from his birth in 1769 until his appointment in the Ottoman military, second, his life as a military officer, and last, as a viceroy of Egypt until his death in 1849. In this chapter the period and life of Mohammad Ali Pasha as a military man will be discussed.

Mohammad Ali Pasha, who was born in 1769 in Kavalla Macedonia¹ and died in 1849, was a Pasha (viceroy) of Egypt who founded a dynasty in Egypt on which he and his successors ruled from the beginning of the 19th century till the middle of 20th century. He played a very important role the emergence of Egypt as a “Modern state” His birth place Kavalla is a small port on the Aegean. At that time this place was a part of Turkish Empire. His parents had settled there, perhaps because the governor of the place was their relative .They lived there in a whitewashed timbered house constructed in a typical style. This house still is visited as the Greek government is taking care of its maintenance. It is a place of great charm, surrounded by trees and greenery and outside it a statue of Mohammad Ali stands. During his whole life Mohammad Ali always remained deeply attached to this place of his birth. Later it was endowed with schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions.²

Mohammad Ali belonged to a low status family. He was the son of Ibrahim Agha who was the son of Uthman Agha whose father was Ibrahim Agha. These three generations of Mohammad Ali were having their military backgrounds. Many historians have described them as being of Albanian origin. Many believe that they might have been of Kurdish stock and come from a village namely Ilic, in Eastern Anatolia where they were horse traders. At same time the family had moved from some

unknown village to Umar Bekir and from there Uthman Agha and his father Ibrahim had moved, first to Konia and then to Kavalla.

Ibrahim Agha was an officer in the police department deputed in the town of Kavalla. Mohammad Ali grew up under the guidance of his father. At the same time Ibrahim Agha was a trader of tobacco and shipping merchant also. By the age of ten Mohammad Ali started taking interest in the tobacco business run by his father. By the time of his father's death in 1790 he got married and was twenty years old. According to Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, at the time of the death of his father he did not have a good relation with him.³ He, therefore, chose to live with his uncle Tussun. That was a common occurrence among extended families there, especially if the uncle had no son of his own. This statement seems to be incorrect because if Mohammad Ali had been on bad terms with his father he would not have named his first born son Ibrahim.⁴

Due to the death of his father, his education was much affected. However, before his death he left Mohammad Ali under the patronage of the governor of the region. Mohammad Ali Pasha learnt the way to live in a more practical way. Along with fooding, lodging, and clothing he learnt there, how to offer prayer. Furthermore, he learnt riding, use of arms and weapons. In such condition he flourished and grew older. By the time he became young he started accompanying the parties that were sent out to

capture bandits. At the same time, he was deputed by the government to receive the revenue. These activities helped him to learn the rudiments of war the art of surprise and also the commanding manner.⁵

After some time he got married to one of the governors' relative Amina. There are different versions regarding his wives and children. According to Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot he had thirty children that included seventeen sons and thirteen daughters.⁶ Another scholar, Henry Dodwell is of the view that he had 95 children.⁷ His first child Ibrahim was born in 1787. After him another son namely Tussun was born in 1793. In 1795 his third son was born who was given the name Ismail Kamil. His last two daughters named Tevhid born in 1797 and Nazli born in 1799. Afaf further says that Amina was the only legal wife of Mohammad Ali Pasha during his life time.⁸ Apart from her, there were eight to ten women in his life who is supposed by the other as his concubines. Although Mohammad Ali was an affectionate head of his family and a man of loving and caring nature but he was a man of suspicious nature as well. Because of this nature Mohammad Ali set spies on his family and consulate members who used to inform Mohammad Ali about their every action.⁹

Before his joining military as an officer, Mohammad Ali had an experience of a short period of tobacco trade it means he was a tobacco dealer merchant in the early part of his life. Such a mercantile experience

affected his commercial and agricultural policies during his rule in Egypt. He started his tobacco trade from the chief industries of Macedonia.

During his service as military man Mohammad Ali played an important role with skirmish against the disobedient peasants who refused to pay the taxes to the government. The refusal of the peasants to pay taxes gave him an opportunity to take command in his hand. To handle these peasants he was summoned by the government to Istanbul to take responsibility to command a corvette in Aegean Sea. The main reason behind this assignment was to chase the pirates and punish them. With this assignment he got much experience of naval force that benefited him in his life as an army man. With this his dream to become a soldier and work on the foot print of his father, came true. His distinguished qualities and skills in dealing of skirmishes brought him to light that too impressed his superiors who wanted to see him at the higher level of command.¹⁰

During this period another military event which caused familiarity and promotion, was happened in 1801. In this year a contingent from Kavalla joined the Ottoman force to travel to Egypt. The contingent reached there in Egypt on March 8th, 1801. During his travel to Egypt he had to face severe seaside's that made the whole army difficult to survive for about a week. It is said that the main reason of this bad condition in the sea was the mealtime wind blowing in the sea in the Bay of Abuqir. This caused severe casualties to the forces. Ali Agha the leader of the

contingent from Kavalla, at that time, suffering from sea-sickness, decided to go back to his home making Mohammad Ali the head of the contingent. In spite of bad weather, he showed his admirable abilities in facing skirmishes against the French force. This incident brought his name to the knowledge of Mohammad Ali Khusrow Pasha, the captain of Ottoman force. However, Mohammad Ali was appointed the commander of a thousand soldiers by Khusrow Pasha.

This is the reason why Jabarti refers him as the leader of the Ottoman soldiers termed as “Amir al- asakir al- Uthmaniyah.” Another writer, namely Nicolas Turc had given him the title of Albanian major that is termed as “Bin-bashi Arnaut. In this way, because of his leadership qualities he was recognized as an able and efficient commander of the Ottoman Empire. Not only he was recognized as an efficient commander, but his ranks in the military also arose first until he got the position of the second- in –command of the whole contingent of Albania. This was a great achievement for him as he started the journey of his life as a soldier from Kavalla, his birth place and finally, he became the second commander of the Albanian contingent.¹¹.

Though Mohammad Ali got the position of second-in commander on the basis of his qualities and talents, but in achieving this position there was another reason that also played an important role. Among the main reasons was the tribal character of the troops of Albanians who

spoke Turkish did like the Ottoman Janissaries. Similarly, in response of their disliking Janissaries also hate them and called them wild people, rabble and having no law and order. Because of this, they always treated them like their servants. About the rough behavior of Albanians, Jabrati said that they were more uncultured than the Ottomans. Even they did not follow religious practices like fasting in the month of Ramdhan. According to him it is also not clear that to what sector or order Albanians belonged? Their nature was so barbarian and their behavior was so harsh that they could kill anyone at anytime and seized others properties. It is worth mentioning that these Albanians used to perform these inhuman activities without any hesitation. Moreover they did never care of their superiors or officers, were the reason behind appointment of Mohammad Ali as a second- commander with the hope of being an Albanian it would be easy for him to lead these uncivilized troops of Albania. Secondly, his qualities also helped in his acknowledgment among the Ottoman officials. And his promotion itself proved his leadership skill as a military man. It is because of his qualities and circumstances that led him to occupy the top position in the Egyptian administration under the Ottomans.¹²

The struggle, in which Mohammad Ali got victory and established his rule in Egypt, started in 1801. This struggle started when the French army withdrew itself from Egypt in October 1801. This withdrawal

created a situation of struggle in the country for gaining power that may be called a situation of 'Power vacuum'. It means, because of the evacuation of the French, there was no authority having administrative power of the country in its hands. Thus, in such condition different groups emerged who competed each other for the control of power. This competition took the form of struggle among these groups. These groups were on one side, faction of mamluks were under the leadership of Ibrahim Bey, Uthman Bardisi Bey, Mohammad Ali Bey and Hasan Bey; and on other side there was a group of officially appointed Ottoman governors namely Khusrow Pasha, Ali Pasha al- jaza,irli, and Khursheed Pasha who were main personalities among his companions. The group was of Albanian troops who were sent by the Ottoman government to fight against the French invaders. Earlier they were under the command of Tahir Bey but later on it was commanded by Mohammad Ali. In this struggle Mohammad Ali overcame and in urged as victorious. The period between 1802 to 1805 was a period of disturbances and different incidents happened and fighting held. The first among these incidents was the dissatisfaction shown by the Turkish, Albanian and others on the payment of arrears.¹³ This dissatisfaction resulted into a revolt against the Ottoman governor, Khusrow Pasha. After this revolt Tahir took the control of the city in his hand. But within a short span of time he was murdered and succeeded by Mohammad Ali. Before he fled to Damietta, Khusrow was

defeated by the allied force of the Mamluk and Albanians. With his defeat Khusrow was arrested and imprisoned in the Citadel of Cairo. It is said that this was the first time when Albanians and Mamluk fought unitedly against the Turks. Later, Khusrow Pasha fled from Egypt to Damietta.¹⁴

When Mohammad Ali Pasha got the news about these events he moved with his 1500 men to remove Khusrow from governorship Alexandria was the first place occupied by him where he came into conflict with the consuls of the European powers which had been established there at Alexandria. Later, British domination came to an end on the basis of the “Treaty of Amiens”, that was concluded on March 27th, 1802 between England and France. In this treaty Britishers made French agree to leave Egypt. The British forces, complying the treaty, also started to withdraw from the country by the beginning of 1802. They left Alexandria in March 1803.

After the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt they started the Turko- Mamluk war there, that continued two years from 1802-04. When Britishers left the country the Turkish Pasha took a decision to start a war against the Mamluk who had strengthened their power in different parts of the country. The Turkish Pasha sent his forces to the Upper Egypt. This was the area which was dominated by Mamluk. As the Mamluk had an alliance with the Bedouin Sheikhs and had in its army a considerable

number of Bedouins, they not only defeated the Turks but also crushed them. It is said that 5000 Turks soldiers were killed by Mamluk army in this battle and was known as "Damanhur battle". In this battle 60 Mamluks soldiers also lost their lives.

Throughout this period the military revolt was continued at Cairo where three Pashas succeeded one after other within a period of one month. In May, 1803 Mamluk and Albanian forces unitedly seized Cairo. In this way power again came in the hands of the allies of Albanian commander, Mohammad Ali and two Mamluk Beys. With this victory Mohammad Ali came to power. This increased his ambition to occupy the whole country. To meet out his ambition to control whole Egypt he made an alliance with the Mamluk to start a war against Khursheed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Egypt. This war came to an end in January 1804 with the defeat of the Turks.

Along with this 'Cairo uprising' took place by the people of Cairo against the heavy taxes that were levied on them. This uprising was led by the Sheikhs of Al Azhar University. This was his meeting with Al-Azhar Sheikhs he promised to withdraw all the taxes. When Mohammad Ali favored the people, this made him popular among the people and with their support he reached at the top of the administration. The uprising started when Mamluk again regained their power in Egypt and started ruling there. Before it the Britishers who were busy in the war against

France decided to take advantage of the Mamluk victory. But at this moment Uthman Bardesi's revolt changed the scene that not only destroyed the detachment of the British Mamluk agent Muhammad el-Alfy but also forced him to flee to desert. Muhammad el-Alfy was sent by them to Alexandria before this revolt. The people of Cairo were also not in favor of Osman Bardesi and revolted against him. This forced Bardisi to leave Cairo on March 12, 1804. To see the growing popularity of this movement Mohammad Ali pasha took a decision to favor the people's movement. He not only favored the people of Cairo, but also led his Albanian troops against the Mamluk feudal lords. In this way, being impressed by the efforts made by Mohammad Ali Pasha, the Sheikhs of Al- Azhar elected him as "qa'im-ma'-qam" (Deputy Pasha). Khurshid Pasha, at that time, was working as the Turkish governor.¹⁵

Gradually, Mohammad Ali became more and more popular among the people of Cairo. They regarded him as their leaders. But sultan sent an order to Mohammad Ali to go back to home. This led to the disturbance in Cairo in the form of the protest. In the meantime Khurshid Pasha imposed heavy indemnities and started collecting taxes. As a result of this the people of Egypt again united to rebel against Khurshid Pasha and his Janissaries in May 1805. They got success in their protest by dethroning Khurshid Pasha from governorship. With this, Mohammad Ali was declared the ruler of Egypt by the Sheikhs in their meeting. This

incident and other forced Sultan Salim III to recognize Mohammad Ali as the Pasha of Egypt. The incidents that happened inside Turkey and outside made Sultan helpless to interfere in the Egyptian affairs. These incidents were the uprisings in the Balkan region against Turkish occupation, the defeat of the Turkish army by the rebellion and the opposition of Janissaries, Ulama and Darvishes against reorganization of new Turkish regiments (nizam-e-jadid) to combat with the Balkan rebellions. The taxes levied on the people of Turkey for the purpose was also one of the major of the opposition of these groups. The movement was also started by the Turks against the reforms introduced by the Sultan with the slogan. In this way, the effort, made by the Sultan to remove Mohammad Ali from the position of Egyptian ruler became unsuccessful.¹⁶ These incidents led to the dethroning and the killing of Sultan Salim III by Janissaries in 1807.¹⁷ With his death the position of Mohammad Ali as the Egyptian ruler became more strengthened.

With his appointment as the Pasha Mohammad Ali started making efforts to strengthen his power for the control of the entire Egyptian land; Sudan, Crete, Morea, Hijaz, Yemen, Syria and parts of Anatolia. Being a great conqueror, Mohammad Ali fought against wahhabis in 1818, who were controlling Makkah, Madinah, and nearby areas when he was asked by the Ottoman Sultan to suppress them. These wahhabis were not only against the Ottoman religious thought but also stood as challenge to the

Ottoman rule. Mohammad Ali complied the orders of Turkish sultan and started his great campaign against these wahhabis. Mohammad Ali, for the purpose, deputed his son Tusun Bey to fight against the wahhabis in 1811 with the aim to recover the holy cities from them. The fighting between the two, continued for seven years and finally, another of Mohammad Ali son namely Ibrahim succeeded in crushing the wahhabis and capturing Dariya, the home place of wahhabis ruler Ibn Sa'ud. After defeating the wahhabi movement another effort was made by Mohammad Ali to unite the whole Arab world under his control. Mohammad Ali also reconquered Egyptian Sudan in 1820 where he founded a new city, came to be known with the name of Khartum.¹⁸ In the meantime the Greeks stood in revolt against its Ottoman occupation. Mohammad Ali was again asked by the Sultan for help. Mohammad Ali again obeyed it and sent his son, Ibrahim with 10,000 soldiers to crush the Greek revolt. He, however, could not be succeeded in this mission due to the intervention of European powers. Moreover, his fleet was severely destroyed by these European powers. In 1831 he demanded the governorship of Syria in response of the promise, as claimed by Mohammad Ali that was made for the same by Sultan Mahmud II to Muhammad Ali. The Ottoman Sultan did not show his agreement in giving the Pashalik of Syria to Mohammad Ali. Consequently he sent his troops under his son Ibrahim to invade Syria. After controlling Syria the Egyptian troops reached Asia Minor in

1833 where at a place namely Konya the battle was fought between the Ottoman and Egyptian armies.¹⁹ The Egyptian pursued the Turks; and inflicted another defeat at Konya. Unfortunately, Russia intervened at this moment on the request of the Ottoman Sultan, who found him helpless after his defeat in the battle. With this Russian intervention Mohammad Ali was forced to agree on the Pashalik of Syria and Crete leaving other areas like Asia Minor. In this way Mohammad Ali became undisputed master of Syria, Egypt and Crete.

After conquering various areas like Hijaz, Sudan and Syria, Mohammad Ali plan was to lay a foundation of an “Arab Empire”. This plan was prepared by an Austrian diplomat Count Prokeesch Osten in May 1833, who had to face the British diplomat’s criticism for his plan for Arab countries including Egypt, the Sudan, Arabia, Syria, and Iraq. Mohammad Ali’s plan of ‘Arab Empire’ required an aid that he depended on French. It was because of the fact that there was a continuous rivalry between France and Britain. But the war of conquering Arab countries was not an end to him as the Ottoman Sultan was not happy with the occupation of Syria by Mohammad Ali, so, he again attempted to recover Syria in 1839. Although the Turkish forces were defeated by the Egyptian army but he was again compelled to stop his victorious force to march towards territories under the pressure of the European powers. Furthermore, he had to evacuate Syria under their pressure. These powers

were continuously watching the developments in this region and intervening in its affairs as per their interest. With this Mohammad Ali's dream to establish an Arab Empire could not come true.²⁰ This failure of Mohammad Ali enabled Britain to force him to give access to British merchants for their trade with Egypt on the basis of "Anglo-Ottoman commercial Treaty" of 1838.²¹

With the trade with European countries and reforms made by Mohammad Ali in Egypt in all the fields it began in making Egypt a modern state. He, therefore, was known as the "Father of Modern Egypt".²² Being a military man the earliest priority of Mohammad Ali was to make reforms in military field in order to make the army more strong and advanced. In this way, Mohammad Ali laid foundation of a new and modern Egyptian army. The first step that he took in this direction was to design and give new shape to its flags. For the purpose a festive ceremony was held after the training of soldiers appointment of officers and the preparation of regiment to dispatch to its destination. In this ceremony the banner was delivered by the Pasha who gave the following speech on this occasion. He said,

"This banner is the symbol of victory, pride, of life and of faith ...Make sure it does not fall while there is still a breath of life left in anyone of you. If it does fall-God forbid then let the spot on which it falls be the spot on which you die."²³

The purpose to arrange this ceremony by Mohammad Ali was to create a strong army to secure his power, for which he created a regular army. In his new army Albanians were recruited instead of Egyptians. While during the campaign against Morea (1821-28) African soldiers were recruited in the Egyptian army. After this campaign he decided to recruit the native Egyptian known as 'Fellaheen' who got victories in their campaign in Syria. The Egyptian fellaheen were trained by the European military experts. These military experts were mainly from French and Italians. Among these experts one who became very popular was Seve. He was French officer known by the nickname of 'Suleiman Pasha.'²⁴ The idea to recruit an army of fellaheen was given to Mohammad Ali by the military advisors, mainly Frenchman. And the methods to recruit these fellaheen were those which were adopted in France before and after Napoleon by the *racoleurs*. In this method they charged a particular fee from every one for the recruitment in the army. If anyone recruited in the army wanted to go back they could never do so. If anyone was to leave the army he was punished severely. This pattern of the France in recruitment of the soldiers was followed completely in Egypt under Mohammad Ali. According to the system adopted by Mohammad Ali, if any soldier escaped from the army service and if they were not arrested any other member of the family was punished. In case of none availability of any of the family members, the member of the

locality or the village who encouraged him in his escaped and gave shelters, was punished.²⁵

Egyptian campaign against Arabia, a large number of training camps were setup by Mohammad Ali at Aswan, where French and Italian instructors trained the large number of young Egyptians and Sudanese. And the first batches of cadets, trained at Aswan were among the Pasha's own Mamluk. The Aswan site was selected distant from the center of things and the training officers had to have their troops under their command. But the major problem before them was that from which classes or groups of society the soldiers were to be recruited. So, Mohammad Ali decided to recruit Turks and Albanians in the modern army.²⁶

Another military reform of Mohammad Ali was the establishment of "Military school". Among such schools included an infantry school on Damietta, a cavalry school in Giza and an artillery school in Tura. After the establishment of these military schools, an Academy of the general staff came into existence by Mohammad Ali.²⁷ The role of this staff college during the mid eighteenth century was to help in raising the standard of competence of the Egyptian officers, crops. In this way, in October, 1826 the first staff college, "*Madrasa-tul- Arkan*" was opened. Unfortunately, there was lack of fundamental education in these lower officers, remarked an inexperienced, this made the instructors' task

extremely difficult. Planat, a military trainer and teacher at this college, found that they could not even understand the simplest definitions. Within two years after its opening the number of officers undergoing training at *Madarsa-tul- Arkan* reached 71. In this academy the training program was of four years' duration.

Another difficulty in the training of officers in this academy was that none of the European instructors could speak Turkish and only one student of the first intake group could speak French. In spite of these difficulties the students there, were in the process of learning. Simultaneously they were learning French language. To impart the education these instructors used to write their lectures in a European language that was translated into Turkish language by the interpreters. After the translation had been checked by the instructor the interpreter read it to the class. Sometimes there seemed the curiosity among the students due to different causes. A major difficulty with the system was fact that the interpreters were unfamiliar with a great deal of the military terminologies used by the instructors in their lectures. Another difficulty in this system was that in many cases equivalent words or terms did either not exist or not find in the Turkish language. Due to this reason the meaning of key words in the lecture were often misinterpreted that led to mislead students. Soon after the *Madrassa-tul- Arkan* was opened, an

interpreter was employed to compile a Turkish dictionary of French military terminologies.²⁸

Since Mohammad Ali's Egyptian army was based on the Napoleon's army pattern therefore French military regulations were translated into Arabic language. The Egyptian regular armies gradually grew during the rule of Mohammad Ali. In 1883 it had 36 infantry regiments' 14 Guard regiments with a strength of 59,000 men, 15 cavalry regiments with 500 men in each regiment and five artillery regiments comprising of 2,000 soldiers. Along with these arrangements irregular units with the strength of 40,000 men were appointed in the Egyptian army ²⁹ for the purpose of modernization of the Egyptian army. In these arrangements not only military schools and colleges were opened but a "war Department" (*Nizarat al-harbiyya*) was also established by Mohammad Ali Pasha. This department was known as the "war council" (*diwan al -jihadiyya*). The main responsibility of this council was to administer the organization of the armed forces. With this, its responsibility was also providing a support to the army by supplying armaments, munitions and other services.³⁰

Mohammad Ali's military reforms were not limited to the land force but he paid his attention towards the Egyptian navy as well. Like the Great Russian reformer, Peter I, Mohammad Ali took a decision to create a national Egyptian Fleet. As he made great reforms in his navy

Mohammad Ali often compared himself with Peter 1.³¹ Due to the Philhellenic unrest in France and the refusal of the British government to permit the construction of Egyptian warships in England forced Mohammad Ali to decide in the late 1820's, to establish extensive shipbuilding factories at Alexandria. Another reason of this decision was that the Pasha was flagrantly overcharged by the owners of the factories in the purchase of foreign ships that is evident in the following report:

He had boats built at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Leghorn, Genoa and as for distant place as Archangel, not only was he made to pay a third more than they were worth, but they were also made from inferior materials....1, 700,000 francs were paid for the most recent ship, it would only have been worth 1,100,000 Francs built of good wood, it will be rotten within a few month and will have to be taken out of service. However Mohammad Ali should be praised for his building a strong navy. It is surprising and noteworthy that his navy surpassed any other fleet of the Islamic world in its modernity. These points are clearly illustrated in the following letter written by the Pasha to his son Ibrahim shortly prior to the Battle of Navarino:

“My son, we are, with God’s help, in possession of the most beautiful fleet that has even been seen in speed, good order and discipline are concerned it is no longer the fleet that you know a short time ago: it is now a brilliant fleet, completely modern, nobody in the Muslim world has up to now

possessed its equal. You will see... that the five ships which have been built in Genoa.... are vastly superior to the Tunisian frigate that you know. The frigate Muechid-i-Djihad (La Guerriere), which has arrived from Marseilles, does not cede anything in the point of view of sailing and construction, or in any other regard to the Austrian commander's frigate. It is also said that the two frigates which will arrive and will be sent to you later are even better than the Murchidi-i-Djihad."

Muhammad Ali's high ambition for the navy is revealed in his following statement to General Boyer:

"I am very ambitious, especially for my navy, and if God lets me live another twenty years I hope that the civilized world will have added another maritime power (namely Egypt) which will not even be inferior to England whom consequently I shall not fear."

This aspiration was momentarily crushed when the fleet, which had been accumulated at great expense, was almost totally destroyed at the battle of Navarino in October, 1827. Of the seventy- five ships of the Turco- Egyptian fleet that participated in the Battle (two battleships of 75 Guns, the reminder being frigates, corvettes, brigs and transport vessels: three frigates and a brig that were present were of the Algerian Navy), sixty were sunk; most of the reminder severely damaged and 9,000 men were killed.

Despite this immense setback, the Pasha quickly recovered his confidence preparation were again started with a short time after the battle for building warships in Alexandria. In 1829 another fleet namely Lefebvre de Cerisy was hired to organize the development and operation of this undertaking. Also, some French, Italian and Maltese shipbuilding artisans were hired to teach and supervise conscripted Egyptian workers. A shipyard, a foundry, a rope factory and other workshops necessary for the building and fitting of warships were constructed and equipped by him only the finer nautical instruments, brass nails and some cannons were imported. Due to the enthusiasm of Mohammad Ali in 1831 the first Egyptian built 110-Gun battleship was launched.³²

Mohammad Ali also purchased ships in Marseilles, Livorno and Trieste. Furthermore, after the destruction of the whole Egyptian fleet in the 'Navarino Battle' in 1827, a dockyard was built by Mohammad Ali at Alexandria. The first, one hundred canonships were launched in January 1831; in this ship building industry highly skilled native workers were trained. In this Alexandrian dockyard almost all the 8,000 workers were Egyptian. It is said that at that time the Alexandrian dockyard's work could compete with all the dockyards in the world. Besides this 15000 Egyptian seamen were trained there for service whose commanders were trained at the newly established naval college. About the Arabs abilities a European observer wrote, "They appear to be born sailors".³³ It is said

that by 1837 Mohammad Ali had eleven ships in his possession in which four ships were of one hundred or more guns, six frigates of sixty guns four corvettes, seven brigs and three Steamers. For the purpose 18,000 seamen were placed of whom 800 were officers. About Egyptian navy power and position Dr. Bowring presented a report. "The report says the Egyptian navy is not distinguishable from that of a well disciplined European navy except in uniform".³⁴

The advancement of the Egyptian navy may be reorganized from the fact that whatever reforms Mohammad Ali Pasha brought in military field created an unrest among military personnel who had their own unique position in the social structure of Egypt. They were not ready to learn anything from Europeans based on the European system. Their claim was that they were defending Islam, as all reforms made by Mohammad Ali were contrary to the Islamic principles.³⁵ This caused the severe jealousy with Mohammad Ali and that led to an attempt made for the assassination of Mohammad Ali Pasha.³⁶

The revolt of 1824 against Mohammad Ali for his reforms is supposed to be greatest during his whole period of regime. This revolt took place in the region between Esneh and Thebes. That was led by 'Ahmed bin Idris' Ahmad was from Magreb who was a follower of whhabism. Ahmad stood against Mohammad Ali because of the severe enmity between him and whabism. He represented himself as the agent of

God and prophet. With rising in revolt against Muhammad Ali's rule he aimed to overthrow his regime as he claimed that Mohammad Ali was working as the "Pasha of Christians" and his reforms were against the Islamic principles. However to fight against the rebellions Mohammad Ali sent troops but a clash took place among the Falahin troops themselves because about 30,000 soldiers joined the insurgents. Thus fighting between the two armies continued on up to six weeks and finally Turkish and Bedouin troops crushed the rebellions, seven thousands of the insurgents were killed and women and children were massacred by these troops.³⁷

In this way, being a reformer Mohammad Ali made efforts to brought reforms in different fields, especially in his military to make it more powerful and advanced on the line of European pattern. But due to the jealousy different important personalities of the country rose in revolts against Pasha and his military reforms. So, with all ups and downs Mohammad Ali had to face problems during his rule and he had to take the situation with adjustments in his last period of rule.

Thus, the renewal of hostilities against him in 1839 ended the peaceful atmosphere of the country. This forced Mohammad Ali to make arrangements for the hereditary succession to the throne of Egypt and its dependencies that included Syria, Adona and Crete. This decision of making the hereditary succession by him was supported by France. The

rise of military power in Egypt resulted in signing a treaty that is known as "Treaty of London" on July 15, 1940. In this treaty it was decided by great powers to maintain the integrity of the whole Ottoman Empire. Being a sharp politician and statesman Mohammad Ali showed his disagreement with this treaty. As a result an Anglo-Austrian fleet was dispatched to the Syrian coast, which reduced many places like Beyroute, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre Acre and lastly Alexandria. Under the pressure of powerful countries and due to the arrival of the said fleet Mohammad Ali was alarmed and had to take a decision to evacuate Syria. Nevertheless he stipulated for the Egypt's retention.³⁸ Thus, a 'Firman' was issued by the Sultan on June 1st, 1841, by which Mohammad Ali was named as the governor of Egypt not only for his life time but also the hereditary rights to the office were given to his male decedents.³⁹ Besides it in this "Firman" it was also said that Pasha's army would reduce to 18,000 troops in time of peace as per this treaty signed in 1841 Mohammad Ali became busy carrying out in great political projects. The foundation stone of the great 'Delta Barrage' in 1837 was laid by Muhammad Ali. This was considered to be the last public work by him. But due to the mental disorder in 1848 he had to resign from all public affairs. This mental disorder led to his death, in 1849. After his death his son Ibrahim was appointed the 'Regent' for a short period but he also died in the same year. On the basis of the right of succession given to this family

Muhammad Ali's grandson, Abbas came into power in 1849 who also proved to be a worthy ruler of this dynasty. The rule of the dynasty founded by Mohammad Ali came to an end in 1936-52 with the last ruler named; King Faruq was succeeded by King Fu'ad II, 1952-53. .⁴⁰

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CHAPTER THIRD:

Political and Administrative Reforms of Mohammad Ali Pasha

Mohammad Ali Pasha stands to be the most important ruler of Egypt who more than others paid his attention to the political and administrative reforms of the country. Because of these efforts to reforms these fields the political and administrative institution became highly developed and effective. Although it was not supposed to be a complete independent ruler of Egypt as he worked as the governor under Ottomans but he worked almost independently. It is therefore, he without any hesitation diverted his full attention to develop Egypt and reformed about all the fields. The politics and administration of the country first needed by him to be reformed, with this he might be able to hold his full control over the country. For this purpose he created a controlled administration to run the country smoothly, that would help in securing his positions and future and his generations in Egypt. He, as per need of the time used to take adhoc decision related to his administrative policies. Being an efficient ruler and administrator he could take steps in the right direction. With this he started making Egypt a modern state. These advancements begin with a chain of practical made by Mohammad Ali in which there were the possibilities of errors. However, he with his efforts created a centralized authority. These reforms and others brought his proper hold on trade commerce agriculture, and industry. He also made his position strong for the expansion of the state beyond the frontiers of his territory.

The main step that was taken by Mohammad Ali Pasha was that he tightened the screw of law and order. It is because of this the government functionaries worked properly. This became a great reason for the satisfaction of the people of the country with regard to the function of the administration under the Mohammad Ali. He was therefore supported both the *Ulama* and *Tujjar* who were much impressed by his reforms for the betterment of the state and its subject and, the stability and security of the business. Earlier the country was in the wrong hands during last few decades which ruined out the commercial life of the country.

NEW STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION:

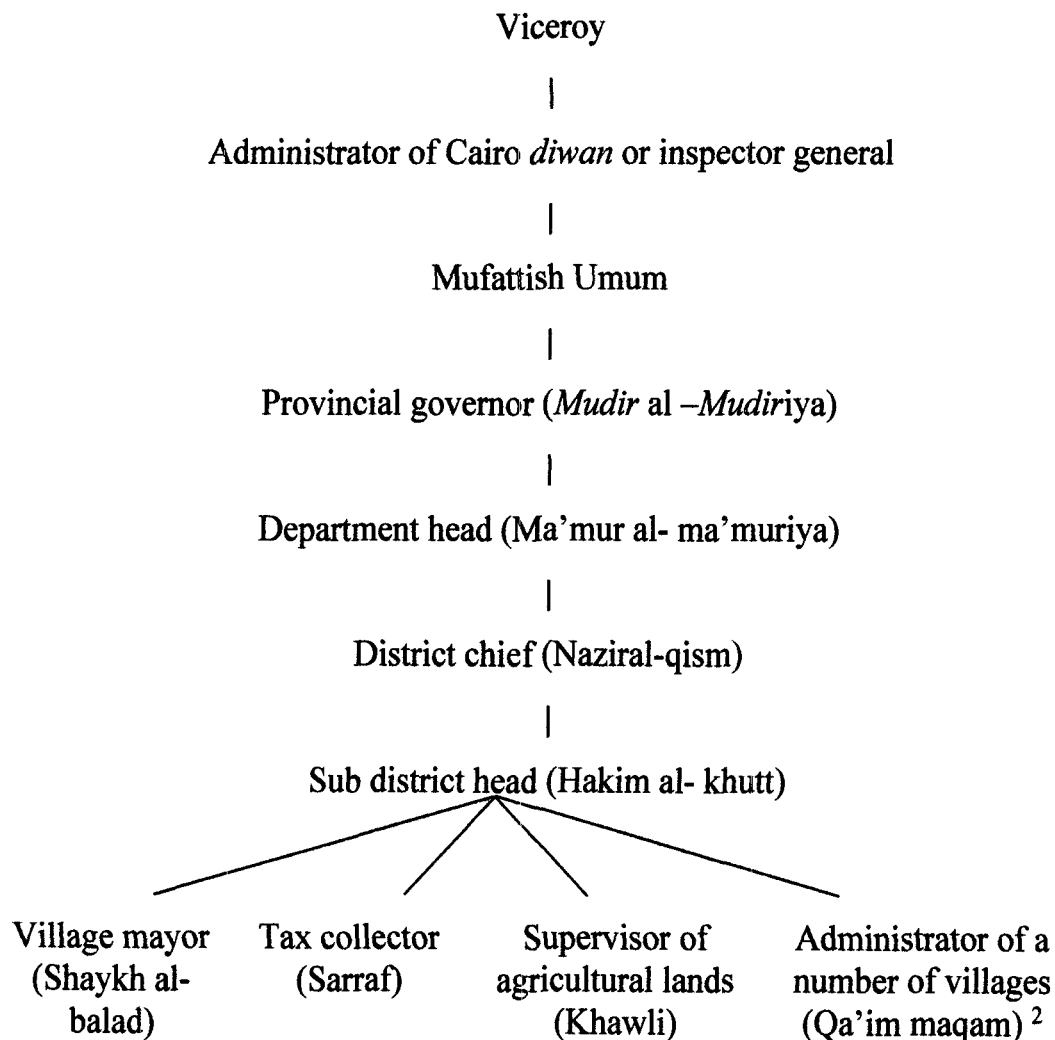
Mohammad Ali's first priority, related to his internal policy, was to maintain law and order for which he brought various political and administrative reforms. Most important reforms introduced by him for this purpose, was the establishment of the "Centralized Bureaucracy" that survived both during him life and after him. During early period of his regime Mohammad Ali had to face different problems in establishing his control over the administration of the country. He used Ottoman institution such as – '*Ruznama*' that was the executive department and the provincial government was composed of Turkish governors known as "*Nazirs*". The "*Kashifs*" were the subordinates of *Nazirs*. The village headmen, of Egypt were at bottom in the administration, who were called "*Shaykh al –Balad*".¹

Later on, in 1824, Mohammad Ali decided to further reform in the field of administration by establishing the administrative hierarchy on centralized pattern that ranging the command from Cairo to the villages. For the purpose the whole country was divided into twenty four parts which were arranged into sub district, district, departments and provinces, sub districts were known as "*Khutts*", districts as "*Qsim*", the departments as "*Mamuriyas*", while the provinces were called by them as "*Mudiriyas*". To direct these units there was the requirement of officials who could replace the Ottoman '*Kashifs*' and '*Nazirs*'. After some time, this new provincial organization came under the general supervision of the "Department of Inspectorate" namely, *Diwan umum al -Taftish*. This department was given under the charge of an official called "*Mufattish umum*", the inspector general.

The officials, under this new hierarchal order, had to work in two ways. Along with the administrative responsibilities they were also assigned the political duties. The provincial governors, under the general responsibility were given the charge of all government projects, the judiciary and general supervision of the officials working in the administrations. Moreover, they were also given the responsibility of the implementation of orders and the proper collection of taxes. Reports of all the political and administrative affairs of them were sent from different provinces to the capital, Cairo by the officers called '*Mudirs*' and the

'*Mamurs*' deputed in the provinces for the viceroy's assent. The functions assigned to the *Mamurs*, were: to hear the complaints against the local officials and prescribed punishments on these complaints, give their advice in agricultural matters, inspect the factories, visit personally to see the condition of land and crops in their localities, and direct the officials working under them. Besides there, they were also given the responsibility to examine the accounts maintained in the villages and appoint the *Khawlis* and *Qa'im maqams*.

The new structure of administration that was introduced by Mohammad Ali in Egypt was as follows:

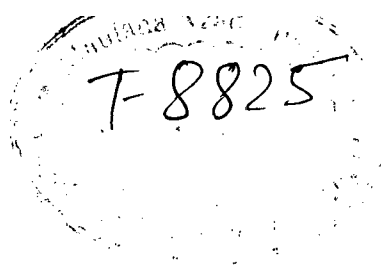


The introduction of this administration helped Mohammad Ali in his complete hold on Egypt. Under this administration, at central level, administrative powers were assigned to the two governmental bodies. These were the departments known as '*Diwans*' and councils called '*Majlises*'. Being the head of the whole administration the viceroy used to preside over these bodies. The chief function of these bodies was to supervise and coordinate the daily governmental affairs in the capital and also perform different duties in provincial administration. One of the departments at central level was "The departments of civil affairs" named as '*al-Diwan al- Mulki*' or '*al- Diwan al- Khidwi*', which looked after the Egypt's internal affairs. This department dealt the matters like the salaries of the government employees. Similarly, this department used to decide the matters on the requests of different other administrations. It also used to issue various orders to the provinces it and received the accounts sent by the provinces to the centre. By 1837 different other responsibilities to this department were given in addition to others. These included the administration of the Mahmudiya canal, the mint, the arsenal at Bulaq, the civil hospitals, the commercial councils, and the *Ruznama*. Alongwith a large number of administrative responsibilities the department of civil affairs also provided its service to the people. It was 'Court of justice.' Under it, the investigation regarding different matters such as murder and treason was performed. In view of a large number of duties and

responsibilities two councils, called '*Majlises*' were established so that they could assist the "Department of civil affairs". Among them one was set up at Cairo and another at Alexandria.³

Another, main body of central government was 'vice regal cabinet' called '*al-ma'iya al- saniya*' at the viceroy's palace that consisted of those officials who used to coordinate and supervise regularly all governmental affairs both military and civil. This cabinet provided its services as a channel of communication between Mohammad Ali and other administrative bodies. Its other responsibilities were to collect information about the works of different administrative bodies make an investigation for the clarification purpose, if need, to inform the viceroy. It also used to issue orders in the name of Mohammad Ali after the decisions were made by him. Another powers enjoyed by the vice regal cabinet were to supervise accounts, to made appointments and dismissals of the government officials' correspond with the foreign countries, adjudication of administrative disputes and to try the officials for committing crimes. A High Court was formed by this cabinet also. Following are important court offices that were the main component of the administration under Mohammad Ali:

- (1) Director in chief. vice regal cabinet (*Bashmu 'awin*)
- (2) Chief interpreter. (*Bashmutarjim*)
- (3) First lieutenant of viceroy. (*Katkhuda*)

- 
- (4) Chief Treasurer. (*Khazanadar*)
 - (5) General master of ceremonies. (*Tashrifati*)
 - (6) Keeper of the seal. (*Muhurdar*)
 - (7) Sword- bearer. (*Silahdar*)
 - (8) Chief physician. (*Hakim basha*)
 - (9) Inkstand-bearrer.
 - (10) Key- bearer.
 - (11) Pipe- bearer.
 - (12) Chief eunuch. ⁴

PRINCIPAL UNITS OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER MOHAMMAD ALI 1837:

After some time, in 1837, due to the financial crisis, Mohammad Ali realized that his administration should further be reformed and reorganized. For the purpose, all the councils were abolished, some existing departments were reorganized, and some new were established. After reorganizing the administration the principal units of the central administration under Mohammad Ali were:

- Vice regal cabinet. (*Diwan al-ma'iya al-saniya*)
- Department of civil affairs Cairo. (*Al- diwan al- mulki*)
- Council of civil affairs. (*Al Majlis al- 'Ali*)
- Department of war. (*Diwan al- jihadiya*)

- Council of military affairs. (*Majlis al- jihadiya*)
- Department of finances. (*Diwan al- maliya*)
- Department of foreign affairs and commerce. (*Diwan al-umur al- ifranjiya wal-tijara al misriya*)
- Department of public education. (*Diwan al madaris*)
- Department of marine. (*Diwan al- bahr*)
- Department of industry. (*Diwan al- fabriqat*)
- High court of justice. (*Jam 'iyat al- haqqaniya*)
- Office of the first lieutenant of the viceroy. (*Diwan al-katkhuda*)
- Department of inspectorate. (*Diwan umum al-taftish*)
- Advisory council. (*Majlis al- shura*)⁵

These were the major administrative changes that were made by Mohammad Ali. These changes caused a movement that was started by bureaucracy of the country. During Mohammad Ali's power these administrative offices were the subject to buy and sale. With this right to the collection of taxes was given to the private parties. Such taxes levied on the food stuffs like salt, fruit along with wine, and small river craft. Moreover, after Mohammad Ali's personal retainers were given villages in order to administer as tax forms. This new type of bureaucratic structure was of a complex nature which was based on European models and the highly centralized organization of Napoleon. For example,

Mohammad Ali's provincial structure was formed as Napoleonic prototype. According to the new administrative policy, the army of Egypt under Mohammad Ali adopted French "Lev'ee en masse: etc. He justified his reforms on European models in the name of "progress" and "civilization". And to carry out all these progressive policies, he relied upon Europeans especially for their technical advices, equipments, and ideas.

MOHAMMAD ALI'S NEW RULING CLASS:

Under the new political order the country's new ruling class consisted of almost the Turkish military men. By employing them, Mohammad Ali wanted to get advantage of the sentiments of ethnic solidarity. The new employed Turkish officials were generally from viceroy's home town, Kavalla who were not aware of the masses of Egypt. Initially these officials were dependant on Mohammad Ali himself who prevented them from establishing any ties with Egyptian society. These Turkish officials were paid higher salaries than non Turk officials even in the case they hold same positions. Not only they were paid high salaries but they were allowed to receive along with gifts other favours that were also provided to them. In addition to other facilities and favours they were entitled to own their estates in the countryside.

In Mohammad Ali's new household elite, there were four types of men:

- Those who were in Mohammad Ali's blood relation.
- His in-laws among whom many were related to him even before his coming the viceroy.
- Freed white slaves, or Mamluk, and
- Those who were not in relation to him they had entered into the service on the basis of private agreements. The detail of these ruling elites is as follows

Mohammad Ali's Ruling Elite.

Name	Birth place	Civil position	Household Position	Relation to Viceroy	End of service
Ibrahim Pasha	Kavalla	Treasurer	Viceroy's first lieutenant	son	d.1848
Abbas Pasha	Egypt	Inspector general	Viceroy's first lieutenant	Grandson	d.1854
Khuhrrshid Pasha	Georgia	Governor of al-Daqahliya	Not available	Freed slave	Not available
Ahmad Yaghan	Kavalla	War director	Not available	Nephew	d.1855
Ibrahim Yaghan	Kavalla	Governor of al-Gharbiya	Not available	Nephew	d.1846
Ahmad Manikli	Turkey	War director	Not available	Not available	d.1862
Muhammad Bey	Turkey	Treasurer	Not available	Son-in-law	d.1833
Boghos Bey	Smyrna	Director of foreign affairs	Translator	Not available	d.1844

Baqqi Bey	Greece	Director of finance	Viceroy's first lieutenant	Not available	Exiled by Abbas
Sami Bey	Greece	Not available	Director in chief viceregal cabinet	Not available	Exiled by Abbas
Muharram Bey	Kavalla	Governor of Alexandria	Not available	Son-in-law	Not available
Muhammad Sharif	Kavalla	Director of finance	Viceroy's first lieutenant	Nephew	Exiled by Abbas
Yusuf Kamil	Turkey	Not available	Director in chief viceregal cabinet	Son-in-law	Exiled by Abbas

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Among these new elite Mohammad Ali's kin were posted in highest offices, such as Ibrahim, his son and Abbas, his grandson were appointed for civil and military assignments in internal as well as external departments. Ibrahim was also given the responsibility of the 'commander in chief' of the Egyptian army. Being very competent officers these two proved to be very supportive to Mohammad Ali in his administration. They also presided the meetings in the central departments. In addition to the responsibilities mentioned above supervise the government officials, visit to the provinces on special assignments. Above all they were given the authority to govern the state in absence of the viceroy. In 1829 Ibrahim was given the charge of the entire administration, and with this charge he used to visit the treasury

two or three times daily. While on his visit to the treasury he used to give directions to the officials related to the government affairs. From this it seems to be obvious that his family member played an important role in the political and military affairs during Mohammad Ali's regime.

As the responsibility of such a vast administration could not be beard only by his son and grandson, so other members of his family and his close relatives were involved by Mohammad Ali in the same. These included the sons of his sisters. The names Ibrahim Yaghan, Ahmad Yaghan and Muhammad Sharif are worthy to be mentioned in this regard. Muhammad Sharif, his nephew, was assigned at different times the responsibility of the lieutenant of the viceroy (Katkhuda), governor of lower Egypt, governor of Damascus, director in chief of the viceroy's cabinet (Bashmu'a-win) and director of finances. Another name among high officials in the administration of Egypt under Mohammad Ali was Ahmad Tahir. He was also related to Mohammad Ali. He was given the governorship of Upper Egypt. He also led a military expedition to crush a revolt there in Upper Egypt. Beside these officials others like Muharram Bey, Yusuf Kamil and Muhammad Daftartar Bey were those who married to Mohammad Ali's family members and worked as high officials in the administration of that time. Among them Muharram Bey worked as the president of the council of civil affairs at Alexandria and the commander of Navy. Yusuf Kamil took the responsibility of the

director of the department of civil affairs and of vice regal cabinet, and Muhammad Daftardar Bey was given the important responsibility of the treasurer.

Besides the family members and relatives of Mohammad Ali, a large number of persons, who were appointed at different position in the civil and military administration, were *Mamluk*. These *Mamluk* originally belonged to Morea or the Caucasus. They were employed as the officer corps of the army along with other position in the civil administrations. Apart from this these Mamluk were also given the assignment of tutors to teach the princes. These Mamluk were given much importance by Mohammad Ali, sometimes more than the Turks as they were efficient in their work. They were given the patronage by the viceroy for different reason. They speak Turkish language and dressed like them.

Thus, Mohammad Ali's household was considered as the pillar of his government. These household people also known as court officers were given appointments in the civil and other administrations by the government. For example, the viceroy's 'Katkhuda' was given the charge of the "Department of Civil affairs", though he was appointed on position of the governor in Cairo. In fact, these courtiers were to perform the adhoc assignments such as Baqqi Bey who was given the assignment to make visit to the government offices, to inspect accounts, and to dispense punishments to wrongdoers. Muhammad Sharif other court officer was

given the task to supervise the harvest into the provinces and make sure that the government registers was sent to Cairo on time. Boghos Bey, the other one was assigned the duty to distribute government orders to the officials and to collect revenues for the viceroy. Besides all these officials, the darker assignment were carried out by Ibrahim Pasha who was ordered to kill a recalcitrant tax collector in the situation of non-cooperation by him. Muallim Ghali is the example of such an order that was killed by Ibrahim Pasha on the same charges. He was the head of the Coptic corporation. Thus, all these assignments issued to the court officers were specific and provisional.⁷

In this way, Mohammad Ali made a new bureaucracy that included the household elite too. The combined bureaucracy under the new system of administration created an independent autocracy in the country where all governmental powers were concentrated to the ruler and his close associates and relation having an advanced and strong army. During this newly established administration he was powerful enough to fix prices of the commodities in the markets, impose new taxes, confiscate land, and order to arrest and imprison the undesirable elements. In this autocratic rule of Mohammad Ali high officials were authorized to exercise only the delegated powers. Regarding those officials, Mohammad Ali had power in his own hand to confer titles, increase their salaries, bestow on them generous pensions, and pardon the criminals. Though Mohammad Ali

was the great benefactor who was termed as '*Wali al-Niam*' and the source of all truth known as '*Ayn al-Sawab*' but he was a great disposer also. It is because of the fact that he was empowered to deprive an official of his rank, salary, and office as well. Similarly a peasant might deprive of his livelihood, his land and its product and even of his life at his wish, the viceroy was also given the right to pardon a criminal or reduce his prison sentence by the "Organic Law of-1837". However, within this autocratic rule the soldiers of Egypt were considered by Mohammad Ali as his "property", officials as his employees known as "*Khadamat sa 'adatihi*", who were not even authorized to make remuneration for their services and were not entitled to government pensions.

By 1837 the reaction was started from within the administration against the steps taken by Mohammad Ali and his programmers to impose the central authorities at different positions in his administration to have complete control on it. Moreover, the peasants of the big towns and the desert started fighting against the government at mass level on its demand for excessive revenue. It was the time when the country was suffering from the International Monetary Crisis. Because of this financial crisis the merchant houses of the country became bankrupt upon which the government had relied for credit. Due to the great loss of revenues, and to overcome from this crisis Mohammad Ali had to grand himself, his family and close officials the pieces of land in the provinces.

'*Uhdas*' were granted to the military commanders and high officeholders in these villages were given in the form of concessions. In this way the officers had to pay the tax arrears and guaranty the future tax due on those pieces of land. "*Shaliks*" were other type of fields that were granted by the ruler to himself and his family members. These lands were either in the villages, on which there were tax arrears or uncultivated lands. High officials, and others who were not the members of vice regal family, were also given uncultivated lands; these estates came to known as "*abadiyas*".

The adoption of such type of policy of land grants was to ensure the payment of the land tax. With such policy the government wanted to reduce the government expenditure and deficits. In fact the main strategy behind this policy was to preserve the viceroy's monopoly on the system and administration. Mohammad Ali with the adoption of this policy was authorized to dictate the crops grown on the land of these estates and to purchase them at this own decided prices. This monopoly continued until 1844-1845. By 1848 Mohammad Ali's monopoly on the crops of the estates came to an end when Europeans merchants reached Egypt to purchase the crops from the cultivators. It was in fact due to the pressure of the European powers on Egypt that resulted the end of Mohammad Ali's monopoly on the crops. Another major blow to his centralized rule was the 1839 war with the Ottomans that led to the European military

intervention in Egypt. After this war Mohammad Ali was forced to accept the 'London Treaty of 1840'. He was, thus, forced to reduce his army to 18,000 men, cede all territories conquered from the Ottomans (except Sudan) and accept the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838 that banned all monopolies in the Ottoman Empire. He had to make all these agreements in return of the recognition of the hereditary rule of his family over Egypt as Ottoman viceroy.⁸

Mohammad Ali's introduction of new administrative reforms led to the division of Egypt into two broad parts:

Lower Egypt, and

Upper Egypt.

Lower Egypt was divided into fourteen "*Aqsam*". It was grouped under three units headed by Pasha, Ibrahim and the *Defterdar*. The region of Upper Egypt was divided into ten "*Aqsam*" that was grouped into two major units under the '*Katkhoda*' and 'Tahir Pasha'. Each '*Qism*' was given under the governorship of a '*Mamur*'. This new administrative setup was controlled by Mohammad Ali himself instead of giving it to either '*Kikhya*' or 'Katkhoda Bey', 'Consul Salt states that Mohammad Ali used to sit in the judgment from 8 to 10 hours at his *diwan* everyday and his *Kikhya* was sent by Mohammad Ali around the country to determine the true cause of general misery. While making a new setup the districts were grouped into provinces. These provinces were named

'Iqlim' and *'Mudriyya'*. These provinces were governed by the heads of these provinces. The head of the province was called "*Mudir*". Initially there were only seven provinces but with the passage of time the number of provinces increased. By 1834 the number of the provinces in the country reached up to ten. Among these seven were in the Delta and three were in the middle and upper part of the country. However, the main function of this hierarchical system was to maintain public order to collect the taxes and to administer justice.

Within this new system the authority to take major decision was rested on viceroy and his cabinet, the *'Maiyya-Saniyya'*. During the period from 1833 to 1844 the names of the administrative positions and officers were changed under the new system. For example the cabinet that was earlier called "*Maiyya- Saniyya*" was, later, started calling *'Shura al-Muawana'*. In this way it again returned to its previous nomenclature. The responsibility of this cabinet was to see the function of internal affairs of the country. This included the promulgation of vice-regal orders to the various officials, to prepare and present reports (*Kushufat*) to the *wali*, Mohammad Ali, and to act as the administrative channel that made *wali* enable to govern effectively. Besides these responsibilities it also worked as the disciplinary council to try the officials who were found accused of any misconduct. It was also given the responsibility to deal with foreign powers and their different officials.

With regard to this important administrative body Deny is of the opinion that they were chosen with a careful regard to their degree of education. The administration of '*Maiyya- Saniyya*' had its two branches. They were '*Maiyya -Saniyya Turki*' and '*Maiyya -Saniyya Arbi*'. In the administration the whole communication made in Turkish language was translated and transcribed into Arabic language before it was sent. Similarly any incoming material was translated into Arabic language for its official use. Regarding the statute issued in 1818 two main principles were dominant in the entire administrative organization. These principles were that all the matters must be examined in the council and settled according to the majority of votes and that all the matters must come under the control of the viceroy. After that the decision in such matters was taken by him.

However, these two principles contradicted each other. So, for the first principle in concerned it was aimed at to inculcate a spirit of initiative and reasoning in the field of administration. On the other hand, the second one was the principle of the absolute authority of the *wali*. The reason behind this was the *wali*'s autocratic nature and military exactitude that required supervision of the personnel working in the administration of the state. Such an extreme centralized policy kept the officials on toes, and due to this, an accumulation of papers and weighty bureaucratic culture was developed in this administrative system. This hurt the

government officials and that affected the efficiency of the *diwan* and the officials that is much important in any administrative system.⁹

However, to keep '*Maiyya*' as a powerful entity the government needed certain safeguards for the protection of the function of the rest of the administration from being overwhelmed by it. Because of this the government had to issue an ordinance to the officials who were assigned various functions of the *diwans* of administration. In this ordinance it was made clear by the government that each functionary had as much power to exercise an influence within its field as the benefactor (viceroy) in the whole public domain. The officials who were recruited under the said ordinance were called aide or assistant, who were known as "*Muawin*", and who were put under the direct orders of a chief called "*Bash Muawin*". The term "*Muawin*" was a little used at various levels in the administration under Mohammad Ali Pasha. For example in the army it was a rank equal to that of a lieutenant-colonel. At the same time the term was used for the minister of war. In this way the "*Muawinun*" varied at different levels in that new administrative system. One of the "*Muawinun*", namely Sami Bay who enjoyed his position for ten years from 1831-41, he was succeeded by Husain Pasha. After him Raghieb Pasha and Yusuf Kamil Pasha also worked on the same position of "*Muawin*". Regarding the functioning of the '*Majlis*' or assembly of the country Deny is quoted by Afaf saying, The '*Majlis*' or 'assembly'

corresponded to the tendency the *wali* had to use a deliberative system of government. Under the *Majlis* different departments such as *Diwan al-Khidwi* and *Diwan of War* or *Diwan al-jihadiyah* were existed. Among the assignments of the *Majlis* were judicial duties and disciplinary matters. These assignments were later given to the “*Haqqaniya*” or the High court of the state. Under this administration department or *Diwan al-Khidwi* was the daily management of the state. This *Diwan* dealt with the internal matters except finances. The “*Diwan Kidiwi*” was a combination of various *diwans*. By 1846 a number of bureaus were depended upon this *diwan*. Among them were the treasury, awqaf, real state, expenses, accounting, census, payments, secondary affairs, quarantine, passports, post, law suits and disputed matters, orders of viceroy and the Arabic bureau. Beside these the *diwan* had to deal with judicial matters except the religious or commercial matters. The religious and commercial cases were sent to the competent courts. The matters related to the crimes of murder, theft treason, defamation and other infamous activities were dealt by this *diwan*. After due process that included the enquiry regarding the cases the account was sent to *Mudir* of which the affair was charged in the *diwan*. The member of the *diwan* were very sincere in visiting the prisoners regularly to check and make sure that a prisons had not been detained illegally for more than ten days. According to the statute made in 1837 there were nineteen

administrations under the *diwans*. Among these were the *wali*'s household provisions, cattle, and the arsenal of Bulaq, the treasury, marble quarries, the Mahmudiyya canal, the mint, the post, and commerce with Europe.

Kikhya or *Katkhoda* who used to be the governors of the city of Cairo had their separate *diwans*. Sometimes the *wali* himself used to take over the function in his hands. At such occasions and in such periods these governors became null and void. But when the viceroy resided for a number, of years in Alexandria, the function of governor of Cairo was again assigned to the *Kikhya*.

Another body that was known as *Diwan al- taftish* used to deal with the matters related to the inspectors in the whole country. This *diwan*, Inspectorate general, was headed by *Kikhya* or the Inspector general. It was its responsibility to issue the circulars, regulations and decisions related to them. On the reports called "*Jurnalat*" the *wali* used to give awards to the officials of this *diwan*. The reports, which were sent to the *wali*, were of two types: the first one was sent on monthly basis regularly while, another was sent on an adhoc basis. The later one was sent on the basis of the independent studies and reports called- "*Jurnalat Mustaqila wa faniyya*". These reports were generally of technical nature. Among these reports were of the irrigation engineers that were supposed to be most important.¹⁰

In 1837 some other *diwans* came into existence as a result of the reformation policy in the administration of the government. With the creation of these *diwans* their number reached to seven. Following are the *diwans* that were working in the administration of Mohammad Ali after the reforms.

- (1) *Diwan al-khidiwi* (The treasury). This *diwan* was divided into two sections: One for Upper Egypt and other for Lower Egypt.
- (2) *Diwan al- Jihadiyya* (*Diwan* of war)
- (3) *Diwan al-bahriyya* (*Diwan* of the navy)
- (4) *Diwan al- madaris* (Public instruction)
- (5) *Diwan umur afranjiyya wa tijarat*
- (6) *Missr* (Foreign affairs and Egyptian commerce)

These *diwans* were divided into *Qalam* or bureaux and *wurash* or workshops headed by the appointed persons by the government known as “*Nazir*”. Later the title of this post was changed to “*Mudir*”. To carry out the business of these *diwans* the officials were recruited from government schools through an entrance examination. During Mohammad Ali’s reign the function of chief financial officer called ‘*defterdar*’ were reinstated. Earlier the functions of this position were banned during the Ottoman rule due to the corruption of the Mamluk Beys who, in that period, were appointed to this position. At that time the responsibility of the *defterdar* was shuffled to *ruznamji*. With this revival the responsibility of *defterdar*

was given by Mohammad Ali to his son Ibrahim in 1807. Ibrahim worked on this post for about six years.

Due to different major problems related to the finances of the country many attempts were made by the administration of Mohammad Ali to bring reforms in the whole system. With these reforms several financial organisists were handled that were dated from Ottomans days. Among these reforms was to take the *ruzname* under the supervision of *defterdar*. In this way, with these reforms, the *ruznamji* was assigned the duty to assess and collect the taxes and to make the payments of all the expenditures of the state. The whole amount received through land tax or the “*miri*” were paid, under the new reformed system to the *ruzname* and allocation, or *muratabat* were paid out from it. Mohammad Ali also made arrangements for the payment of the ‘*Faiz*’ to the former *multazimun* from the *ruzname*. At the same time to supervise the tax registers and to assess the taxes, he changed the system and appointed his private secretary. On this position a Coptic Sarraf namely Muallim Ghali was appointed by the *wali*. Along with the assigned duty Ghali also used to suggest Mohammad Ali the means of new taxes to be imposed on the people of the country and enrich the treasury. Contrary to this, very soon, differences between Mohammad Ali and Ghali started on the issue of imposing a new tax on date palms. These differences started an account of its opposition by Ghali. This made Mohammad Ali feel his

government at stake and as a result he advised his son Ibrahim to change the position of Ghali. Ibrahim was, at that time, deputed to organize the region of Upper Egypt. To save the interest of the government, Mohammad Ali decided to do anything in this regard. He, therefore, ordered Ibrahim to first convince Ghali but in case of failure in his efforts his head is cut off. In this way he decided not to compromise the wrong ideas of Ghali in the interest of the government. The result of this controversy was same as was decided by Mohammad Ali and due to the continuous opposition of the said tax by Ghali Ibrahim had to execute him. In spite of this opposition of Ghali Ibrahim himself took the responsibility to support and educate all the children of Ghali. Moreover, they were given government positions and the fields were also granted to them. Thus, the *ruzname* became a part of *Diwan khidiwi* in 1837, and by 1848 it was incorporated into the *diwan* of finances.¹¹

'*Khazina*' or treasury was the second financial center during Mohammad Ali's regime. Its main function was to maintain and control the accounts of the provinces which included the Hijaz and the Sudan. The responsibility of *Khazina* was also to prepare the accounts of the receipts and the expenditure on monthly and yearly basis. These accounts were submitted to the viceroy at the beginning of every month and every year. After that these accounts were submitted to the '*Majlis*'. During the period of 1834 to 1835 a parallel institution, *Diwan al- Iradat* was

established that affected the institution of *khazian*. In 1837 namely established *Diwan al-Iradat* was divided into two *diwans*. These two bodies were assigned the responsibility to handle the accounts of all revenues other than agriculture and also to handle the accounts of the provinces of Crete and Sudan. The accounting of the agricultural department was given to the *Diwan al-tijara*. Along with this separate accounting of Syria was made under the supervision of '*Mubashir*' of the said province. The taxes were collected by the *Mudiriyyun* (the officer deputed by the government to collect taxes) of the provinces and then these taxes were remitted to the *Diwan al-Iradat*. In 1884, due to unsatisfied performance and result '*Diwan al-iradat*' was abolished by the government. In this way, all financial transaction of the government came completely under "*Diwan al-maiyya al-sisriyya*" supervised by a '*Nazir*'. In this way all the reforms made by Mohammad Ali attempted to put the malversation, fraud, and careless handing of government funds to an end. Apart from these reformative steps taken by the government, it was decided to have an efficient control over the whole country. This control, in the opinion of the government functionaries, was possible both with the help of urban centers and the government collaboration with the rural leaders. This idea of efficient control led to the assembling of '*Majlis al- shura*' (consultative council) in August 1829. This council was presided over by Ibrahim Pasha who represented it as the parliament.

In this body there were 33 high officials, heads of *diwans* and departments religious dignitaries, 100 *Shuyukhs al-balad*, Muftis, Sheikhs al- Bakri and Al- Sadat, and 24 *Mamurun* of departments. In this way it seems that the majority of the members of the *Majlis* were from the lowest bureaucratic echelon i.e. of *Sheikh al-balad*. The duty assigned to this body was to advise the government in reference to the administration of the country. Due to its consultative nature, the *Majlis* was not entitled to any legislative powers. It, thus, used to pass the recommendations which came into implementation. This proved to be a standard procedure of consultation and implementation. Within the period of four months of the creation of the *Majlis* its internal body came into existence in 1829 A.D. This body was called "*Laihat Ziraat al-Fallah wa tadbir ahkam al-siyasa al- bi-qasd al-najah*," the '*Laiha*, dealt with how to grow the crops in the proper manner, and how the different hierarchies were to conduct themselves in the rural milieu, in order to achieve success or *najah*. Regarding the punishments of those *Sheikhs*, bureaucrats or officials who found guilty of any misdeed, a number of ordinances were passed. Under the centralized bureaucracy the *wali* wanted to control it encouraging the population to complain to him personally against any abuse of the authority against the population. These abuses included the cheating and stealing.¹²

Besides these Mohammad Ali introduced certain balancing measures regarding the treatment of the *fallahin* by his administrators. In the case of ill treatment with the *fallahin*, *wali* ordered the *fallahin* appeal to the *Mudir*. If the appeal to the *Mudir* gave no response, then they had the right to appeal directly to him (*wali*). Furthermore, during the trips of the *wali* around the countryside any *falah* could present his petition to the *wali*. Different examples of the complaints made by either the *fallahin* or the villagers to the *wali* during his visit to some area are reported by the scholars in their works. These complaints were not only attended by the *wali* but also taken care. In this way the problems were immediately solved by the *wali* during his trips. An example of such an event is reported when in 1821 a villager complained to the governor of Buhaira province stating that the village had been ruined with a disastrous flood '*Qaryatuna ashrafat ala-ikharab*' and the government officials were asked by the villagers to help to restore the village in return for *mal* on the harvest. Unfortunately the officials had requested the *mal* twice from the same village. Later, when the governor got to know about that he ordered the officials not to collect tax twice from the village complaints like- dual taxation, abuse of authority, taking bribes, (*rashwo*) were there against the officials. For such a dishonest act done by any government official three years hard labour was sentenced by the government.

It was very unfortunate that the *fallahin* of the country were exploited by many groups that included both the government officials and non-governmental groups. These groups included the merchants, money lenders and the Bedouin tribes. The Bedouin tribes to impose themselves on the village and received from the *fallahin* the protection money. In this way the *fallahin* were exploited by the Bedouin tribes also. The *fallahin* were also exploited by these tribes in another way. They used to have their share in *fallahin* agricultural production. The government under Mohammad Ali made it's almost efforts to stop such an exploitation. In this regard it issued its orders that if any Bedouin claimed ownership of any piece of land then for the purpose he should provide a written document of his claim, a *rukhsa*. Further he should also pay the '*mal*' on it. The *Sheikhs* belonging to the middle Egypt were also warned for severe punishment if they were found involving in any type of cheating or any illegal claim.¹³

Mohammad Ali was well aware about the quality of his officials and his subject. That is why when on 5th August 1832 the *wali* came to know that the defeatist rumors were whispering due to the Syrian army's performance. He wrote a letter to Habib Effendi, the "*Mamur al- diwan*" mentioning,

"The people of our circle and the inhabitants of Egypt fall into three categories. The first cares for nothing but his personal comforts, the

second group, though people of high rank, because of their brutality thinking not to distinguish the bad and the good, the third group are by way of being animals (*fi hukm al- bahaim*) and think nothing of spreading idle talk for which they must be punished”.

To combat such alarming situation Mohammad Ali ordered to appoint spies who gave reports about those who were found guilty of spreading defeatist rumors. To make this system efficient one officer was set by him to check the work of the others. In this way, *wali*’s concept of government was summed up in a memorandum sent to the council from his *diwan*, within which responsibilities of each link in the chain of command in the country were elaborated as:

“It was known from time back that who die are succeeded by their children who, on reaching maturity, become capable of sowing and reaping and enter the work force automatically, and pay their taxes so that the land tax is little affected by reason of deaths. As to the matter of escapees, if the *mamurun* occupied themselves and punished the escapees and those responsible for their escape, even if they were from among the *Sheikhs*, and transferred them from their areas to other areas, them escaping would diminish in time. Weak lands if given to affluent people and those who possess *Faiz* would solve the problem (they would have the means to spend on the land and improve it). Similarly the lands of those who are conscripted into the army and who leave behind no one to work the land should be divided little

by little among those able to work (the land). If the *Nazir qism*, the hakim *al-khutt* and the *Sheikhs* all united and were as one man working towards that goal, there is no doubt that that would induce prosperity in the land. Such a process would impose on those *hukkam* and *Sheikhs* the necessity of setting in order tax register, and financing (*tamwil*) villages every year, and making a comparison between the number of escapees and those who are deceased and the number of sons of either who have reached maturity, and between the number of those who have little money (*al-duafa*) and those who have means, and comparing the villages which are blighted because of their distance from water with those which are healthy because of their proximity to water, so that those who have funds could pay the tax (*mal*) for those who have none, thereby effecting an equilibrium in government finance. When the hakim and sheikh *khutt* present their registers, to *Nazir qism*, the latter must go to the *mamur* and investigate the registers, check a village or two and put a seal to the register every year. If every year village is checked, every year they can catch up with any deficits or money owed the state. It is clear that such prosperity and progress will be attained through building dykes and digging canals and good management. The *mamuriyya* of *qaliubiyya*, while it was late in collecting the *mal* last year, because of its preoccupation with preparing the *sharqaniyya* canal in *zifta* and *qaliubiyya*, knows at present the value of irrigation in the planting of maize (*dura*) and that the inhabitants of the canal banks are content and as

though they had witnessed a new world and have applied themselves to agriculture.”¹⁴

The “*Sheikhs al-balad*” or “*umda*”, the lowest man in hierarchy, was the beginning of the chain of command in the administration under Mohammad Ali. Traditionally it was a hereditary function within a family in which the former *Umda* was succeeded by new member of that family. It is worthy to note here that in this hereditary system it was not necessary that former *Umad* would be succeeded only by his son. *Umda* who collected the taxes in the village in the eighteen century from the *fallahin* on *iltizam* was the man of *multazim* and worked under him. He was authorized to declare the uncultivated piece of land (*bur*) exempted from the taxation. He was also assigned the duty to distribute the land of the deceased or escaped *fallah* to other *fallahin*. At the same time the *Umda* was also given the authority to chase the fleeing *fallah* and arrest him in the interest of the state to realize the amount of tax from him. This was the major source of power given to them who utilized this power against their enemies and their belongings. Another major power given to this *Shaikhs* was that they were given lands free from taxation in return of their function which was known as “*masmuh al-mashayikh wa masmuh al- masatib*.”¹⁵

The *Umda* or *Sheikh*, the *Sheikh al- khutt* (section head) used to inform the *Shaikhs* of their divisions, or district known as (*nahiya*) of the

quota of crops required by the government. These sheikhs supervised the crops all over the district. In this way the taxes gathered by the local *Shaikhs* remitted to the *khutt* officials who used to hand over the collected tax to the district treasurer. With this the department chief (the *Nazir*) gave report to the '*Mamur*'. They were supervised by the provincial governor, the '*Mudir*'. Hence *Mudir* was responsible of the entire governorate. He was in direct contact with the capital and he, in this way, used to receive the orders from the *wali*. It is important to note that *Mudir* was always of a Turco- circassian origin. The Egyptian *fallahin* on the other hand, were recruited on lesser important position. At the same time the position of *Mamur* was filled by Egyptian by late 1820s. In the new administration system under *wali*, it is worthy to mention that governors became the government employees rather than semi-autonomous '*Iqta* or *Iltizam*' holders. They were closely supervised by the *wali* himself. Hence this system differed greatly from the old Mamluks system and *wali*'s new centralized system. Although this new system underwent through various improvements but different problems also arose in this. These problems included the problems of that the *wali*'s new system of administration had to face.¹⁶ Three main issues in this regard were to be resolved. These issues were;

1. The issue related to Bedouin

2. The issue related to the army and the consequence of conscripting the *fallahin*
3. The issue of revolts or uprising

The first issue was related to the Bedouin tribes, the members of which roamed the land, willingly, going from west parts of the sahara to the western provinces of Fayyum, Buhaira, Minufuyya and Giza. Some of the tribesmen had been sedentarized which made them major 'Multazimun' in the area while some among these were semi-sedentarized who used the *fallahin* their laborers, or living off their produce. Rests of these tribesmen were nomadic who roamed from one place to another and used to take at their will from the *fallahin* what they wanted. They earn for their livelihood from guiding the caravans across the desert and collecting protection dues. The tribes that were sedentarized completely, were given land either as "*masmuh al-mashayikh*" or as "*masmuh al-urban*" and whoever, they turned into local rural gentry. On the other hand the other tribes that were not sedentarized were induced to leave their nomadic way of life by grants of land. They were also recruited the army as irregular cavalry.

So for the land grants given to the Bedouins by the *wali* were of three kinds: the first kind of land was supposedly granted and taxed at half the *kharaj* tax. Second one was exempted from taxation on condition

that the Bedouin tilled the soil themselves. The third kind of land grant was in the form of *ibadiyya*.

Second issue was related to the 'army'. It also became a source of problem in that period under Mohammad Ali. Before Mohammad Ali's reign the army was comprised of *Mamluks* or mercenaries with the establishment of the rule of Mohammad Ali. The army was formed of Albanian troops, Turkish troops, *Mamluks* and North Africans who had joined the new administration. In this way a major part of new recruitments was made from Turkey. The Tunisian Algerians, and Bedouin auxiliaries were also important components of the Egyptian army under Mohammad Ali; these soldiers obeyed their superiors and fought bravely in their own style against the enemy. Because of this division in the army, there was no unified command. This became evident during the Hejaz campaign. In this campaign Tussun had complained about the Maghribi's that instead of one leader they worked under eleven who had wide disagreement among themselves. Moreover, their close attachment with their leader may be recognized from this fact that the payment of these troops was made by their own commanders. These commanders used to get the funds from treasury. It is also worth mentioning that the troops were loyal to their commanders only, and not to the state or the *wali*. Besides this the indiscipline was also prevalent

among them. These troops opt out of battle on their own desire. In this matter the commanding officers could not do much.

Some Sudanian regiments were also the part of the Egyptian army. Due to the failure of the slave army an idea of the recruitment of the Egyptian *fallahin* in the army was suggested to Mohammad Ali. This idea was strongly opposed. He, therefore, strictly ordered not to recruit any *fallah* in the *Maghribi* troops in 1814 when the recruitment of these *Maghribi* troops in the army was going on. The idea to recruit an army of *fallahin* was given to *wali* by the French military advisers who were in the military service under Mohammad Ali. Such recruitment method had been adopted in France before coming of Napoleon to Egypt and after him by the “*racoleurs*”. The “*recoleurs*” were those who received a fee for every man whom they brought into the army of the country. After the recruitment if any recruit escaped from the army he was chased and forcibly dragged back.¹⁷

During the Egyptian campaign in Syria under Mohammad Ali ‘*Nuzzar aqsam*’ were threatened by him to cut off their heads if did not send recruits immediately. Generally, the soldiers who were married did not pay the ‘*Firda*’ tax. If they were not able to cultivate their *athariyya* lands it was ordered by the government to distribute their land among their relatives and neighbours. Along with these soldiers the Coptic soldier were also recruited into the Egyptian army. Those, who were

working in the shipyards in Alexandria, were exempted from the payment of both the '*firda*' and '*jizia*' or poll tax.

In Egyptian army only those recruits who were literate among the rank they were promoted to the higher ranks. At the same time it is also an important fact that the Egyptians were never promoted beyond the first or the second rank of lieutenant. Due to this the differences between Mohammad Ali and his son Ibrahim started, as Ibrahim wanted to promote two of his dead brother's *Mamluks* to the rank of colonel, Ibrahim, in this regard stated that those who were superior to their fellow officer in reading and writing should be promoted. Mohammad Ali brought *Mamluks* into the army and ordered that his *Mamluks* were to be appointed as the majors and lieutenant colonels. He, at the same time, ordered that they should be literate. Ibrahim objected this saying that if they were incapable of controlling their men, how could he take into the lands of the other people '*bilad al-nas*.'¹⁸

During the Syrian campaign a large number of Egyptian soldiers lost their lives. There included young officers of different battalions. In this situation Ibrahim got an idea to appoint the Turkish prisoners of war as second lieutenants in the Egyptian army. Further, he decided to promote the Egyptian to higher ranks. The *wali* on the other hand was of the opinion that the Egyptians did not possess the leadership qualities. In this conflicting situation Ibrahim appealed his father, Mohammad Ali to

promote the Egyptian to the higher ranks of the army. As a policy matter this was against the ideology of Mohammad Ali. He believed that Egypt was a piece of property that he had acquired by guile and ability. He was, at the same time, of the opinion that the Egyptians could only become cannon fodder, workers *fallahin* and minor administrators. These Egyptians, as believed by Mohammad Ali were not able to acquire the positions above these positions. Regarding the Turks he was of the view that they were fit for the government and high positions of the army because of their ethnicity. Those who were rulers spoke and read Turkish language while the subject class spoke Arabic language. The general impression was that the rulers Ottoman gentlemen, while the Egyptian were dirty peasants. Such an attitude of the ruling class towards the Egyptians was not unique. Lord Cromer also believed that, "Egyptians were a subject-race fit to be ruled and incapable of self government". Ibrahim, on contrary, possessed a different view about Egyptians. He, with his different thinking hated his Ottoman identity, in this way the appeal for promoting Egyptians to the rank of lieutenant-colonel (*Binbashi*) did not work and they were only promoted to that rank. It is evident from the fact that in 1882 there were only four native Egyptians colonels in the entire Egyptian army.

It is worthy that though the Egyptians were not promoted beyond a certain rank, but it became a reason to displace the Turkish officers in the

lower ranks. Not only this but *wali*, in 1829, dismissed a number of Turkish officers also in his navy and replaced them by Egyptians trained by French naval officers.

In maintaining law and order, the revolts and uprisings were the great source of problems for the administration under Mohammad Ali. The first cause of these revolts was said to be the removal of necessary man power from agriculture, recruitment of *fellahin*, these lead to the uprising in the indifferent parts of the country. According to the Baer five 'peasant revolts took place in 1812, 1820-21, 1822-23 and 1828 in Minufiyya and Qusair'; in 1846, due to same reason, a big revolt broke out in Egypt. In 1812 when the government adopted a policy of monopolizing grains produced in the country, it was opposed and a number of revolts broke out that is described by Drovetti. He writes that when the Egyptian army was defeated by the Wahhabis in 1812 in Hejaz, four of the chief generals' flight from there by different routes reached Egypt. After their return they made a conspiracy to overthrow Mohammad Ali and put in his place Ahmad Bey. Ahmad Bey was of an Albanian origin. The conspiracy against Mohammad Ali was failed and Ahmad Bey was imposed. The remaining three generals were exiled from the country. Drovetti continues mentioning about the later developments and writes about uprising in Upper Egypt. He writes that many uprisings took place against the tax collectors that resulted into the dispatch of the

troops to support them. In retaliation of these revolts several villages were burnt down and the inhabitants were brutally killed. He is of the opinion that these uprisings were not made by the peasants but was plotted by Laz Ahmad the governor (*Amir*) of *Qus* and *Qina*. In this, the population of Upper Egypt were handled rudely by the new regime for their, support of *Mamluks*, that resulted their revolt against Mohammad Ali. With this revolt they assumed the return of power of the *Mamluks* with the aid of Laz Ahmad.¹⁹

During this disturbing period, at *Minufiyya* and *Sarqiyya*, the revolt took place against Mohammad Ali and government. The revolt is said to be led by Sheikh Ahamd al- Salah in 1820 with 40,000 men. In this revolt the rebellions seized government stores and government funds. Later this revolt was suppressed by the army. One year later a movement was started against the Egyptian government in al Bairat by Ahmad al-Mahdi (al-wazir). After this movement a revolt against the government was started by Ahmad 'Mogrebin Fanatique'. He stood in revolt against the tax as he refused to pay the tax levied on his goods. To motivate people against the government he went to Qina, Isna and parshut. There he had to meet the army of the country. In this way, his revolt was also suppressed by the army.

The main reason behind all these insurgencies was different government policies. These included levying different new taxes on the

people of the country like *firda* imposed in 1822, the increase of land taxes up to 22 percent, the conscription and corvee. In 1823 an insurrection took place in the province of 'Menouffi' which was started by the agents of Mohammad Ali Pasha and by military conscription. In 1846 the last uprising broke out in Shatqiyya where the entire villages armed themselves to defy the officers of the government. It was due to the absence of Mohammad Ali and Ibrahim that led to a series of passive revolts. In this, some of the village *Sheikhs* refused to pay their customary taxes and send their men to serve the government. At many places the executives were beaten by the villagers Hekekyan reports that a '*mudis*' told him that the Pasha used to take 80 per cent of the land produce from the formers. The people were not ready to pay the capitation tax, the *firda*. Therefore, they used to run away from their villages. Although Mohammad Ali has run administration efficiently and successfully; but at different place in different provinces, due to different causes, especially the imposition of heavy taxes and conscription the people stood in revolt against the government. These insurrections, uprising and revolts caused a great problem for the government of Mohammad Ali.²⁰

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CHAPTER FOURTH:

Economic and Educational Reforms of Mohammad Ali Pasha

Mohammad Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt in the first half of the 19th century AD, known as the “*Founder of Modern Egypt*”. It is because of the fact that he introduced various reforms of different nature in all fields: social, political, administrative, military and economic as well as educational. He made great efforts to bring out reforms in the economic field. In his efforts he made a transition from the subsistence economy to a “Modern complex economy” that was prevailing in the beginning of the 19th century. This led the Egyptian economy to an “Export-oriented economy”. He introduced reforms in various divisions of economic field such as in agriculture, irrigation, planting of cotton, communications, trade and industry.¹

However, the first step in bringing economic reforms was in the field of agriculture which brought a revolution in the land tenure system. Simultaneously he abolished tax farming; and payments of taxes were made by the peasants directly to the government. Thus, Mohammad Ali was the first ruler in Islamic lands who made massive economic developments with the expansion of agriculture in the country that became the major source of country’s economic strength. However, with the assumption of power the first step that Mohammad Ali took was the abolition of the old system of “*Multazimin*” and the declaration of all the lands of Egypt as state property. Through this new policy all land were taken in the name of the state by dispossessing all the previous owners

who were mostly Mamluke Beys. After taking these lands, he distributed parts of it in the form of estates to members of his family and entourage. However, he retained most of it as state property that was cultivated by the previous tenants.

With the abolition of the system of tax farming he adopted a new method for the collection of taxes. In this method Mohammad Ali made a hierarchy of officials with their recruitments. These officials depended directly on the central government. These officials were also responsible for the control of irrigation and maintaining public security. This system led to the division of Egypt into provinces which were under '*Mudirs*' or governors. Again these provinces or *Mudiriyas* were subdivided into '*Markazes*'. Each of these '*Markazes*' was under an officer known as "*Mamur*". These "*Mamurs*" had under them various '*Umdas*' who were the heads of villages.²

It is important to mention here that Mohammad Ali Pasha's agricultural policy was against tax farming and the tax farmers. There were two major reasons because of which this system of agricultural holdings had to be abolished by him. Firstly, due to the tax farming a large proportion of agricultural income remained away from the state. Secondly, the tax farmers exercised considerable powers over the cultivator peasants.

During the early period of his rule Mohammad Ali imposed taxes on iltizam lands. But with the passage of time tax-farmers faced difficulties in tax payments, especially at the time when they did not have good crops from their land holdings. In case of non-payment of the tax by the land owners the state started confiscating their lands. To break the Mamluke power and to put their influence to an end, Mohammad Ali took steps against them and massacred a large number of Mamluks. After the massacre of the Mamluks in the citadel their iltizam lands were confiscated. These lands were not transferred to the tax farmers but retained by him as state property with the objective to undermine those Mamluks and eliminate them. With this, he wanted to minimize their influence over the peasant cultivators. And moreover, Mohammad Ali's policy of levying taxes on waqf land property, which excluded the buildings, gardens and Mosques, weakened the influence of clergy and other religious institutions. These included al-Azhar and its religious personalities. Such taxes were levied in 1809 and 1814. On the basis of 1814-1816 survey, a new tax system was introduced by which land was to be registered in the name of villagers who were responsible for the payment of taxes directly to the state. An important fact, regarding this system was that villagers who were fellahin did not acquire ownership or inheritance rights over land. The only thing that was given to them by the government was the lifetime rights to use the land owned by the state.

However, within ten years of his coming to power Mohammad Ali succeeded in nationalizing the lands in Egypt by destroying the agrarian position of the privileged classes.

Mohammad Ali, after destroying the whole iltizam system, distributed lands to the peasants and village headmen. Though peasants were allotted lands for cultivation yet they did not have the legal ownership of the land. Later, in the next twenty years, due to the economic condition Mohammad Ali eradicated the state's monopoly over landownership in favor of private ownership. This led to the emergence of big land owners.

Later on, during 1829-30 Mohammad Ali started free grants of large tracts of uncultivated land to high officials of the state and others. With this he exempted them from taxes on the condition that the recipients would cultivate these lands and increase the agricultural production of the country. Such a land grant was known as '*Ibadîyya*' which did not confer ownership of land upon the recipients. These recipients had the right only to use the land. Gradually by 1836 such land grants became inheritable by the eldest son, of the grantees. By 1848 they acquired complete ownership.

Regarding the land Mohammad Ali also adopted another system known as *Ciftlik* that was to gift large tracts of land buildings and other properties to his family members and relatives. This concentrated the

lands in the hands of the members of the ruling family. He also instituted the system of *uhda* lands by which high officials, army officers, provincial governors and notable personalities received control over the land covering whole villages in return for their assumption of the tax liability from the *iltizam*. In this way the *uhda* holder was to pay the tax decreed by the pasha and could not any further tax upon the cultivators. However, he acquired a parcel of land for each *uhda* that was not taxable. On this parcel of land, he was entitled to unpaid labour by the farmers.

In this way '*ibadiyya*' '*ciftlik*' and '*uhda*' were distributed by Mohammad Ali among the individuals that were not related to the state. All these contributed to the emergence of private ownership of land and large land estates in the country.³

After taking the cultivated land under his direct control Mohammad Ali started paying his attention to the irrigation works. He in this connection, issued orders to repair the basin walls, and redigging the canals, since agriculture in Egypt depended upon the basin system and largely, during the time when Nile flew high in August and remained under the floods for next six months. During the period of late October or November land was sown with the crop, known as winter crop or "*Shitwi*" crop, in which mostly wheat, barley, beans, barsim or clover, lentils and fenugreek were included. This *shitwi* land yielded one crop a year. However, after winter another crop which was grown needed

extensive irrigation, this was known as “Saifi”, that included rice, sugarcane, indigo and cotton. Another type of crop which was grown during the rising period of Nile was called “Nile” that also needed irrigation by some source.

Due to the lack of water in summers certain irrigation projects were under taken by the government to have good crop. In this season the government took two major steps. They were the digging of deep canals so that water would be flow from the low Nile and by the construction of dams to raise the level of the low Nile. Thus the major public works there were carried out by the government. In this way there built ‘Saifi’ canals. Among the canals the Mahmudiyya canal is said to be the major one which became a waterway various dams and barrages were also built in this project. According to Colt Bey, 32 canals (tira) were built of which ten were jars or dykes, in which one was 6 meters wide and 2 meters high: Furthermore, forty-one dams and barrages were built for irrigation purpose in the country. In all some 1,135,775 meters the canals were dug in length that stored 116,050,843 cubic meters of water.⁴

Since there was no water available for summer crops during the time when Nile was low, and when the land lay fallow, so it was not possible to grow the sub-tropical crops for which the climate of the Egyptian summer was suitable. In view of this Mohammad Ali, who was well aware of the industrial developments in Europe, explored the

possibilities of cotton cultivation in Egypt because of the invention of mechanical spinning and weaving. For this the Egyptian climate was suitable, and its transport to the sea-coast was cheap and easy. Besides this European markets were not at much distance. The government chose the Delta region for cotton growing. For this purpose deep canals were built and steam pumps were used to provide water from these canals to the fields of the region. So, in 1834 the construction of the \delta Barrage was started at the branching of the Rosetta and Damietta channel that was some twelve miles north of Cairo. Later, due to some reasons this work was abandoned by the government.⁵

The production of the long staple cotton was started in the country on commercial scale in 1821,⁶ for which Europe became an important market. The European markets had a strong demand for this long staple cotton where it was priced between two to four times as high as Egyptian short-staple cotton. During the period between 1821 to 1822 foreign experts were brought to Egypt and they were given the charge over several villages for the production of long staple cotton. This resulted into the production of high quality cotton having high prices in European markets. This encouraged Mohammad Ali to extend its cultivation, which required a proper system of irrigation. So, Mohammad Ali started a large scale program of public works to supply necessary water to the farms. Labors for this purpose were provided by the corvee. Initially,

Mohammad Ali induced the peasants to raise the crop by offering high prices and supplying working capital, such as 175 piasters per qantar but it declined to 100-150 piasters per qantar in 1826. This decline of prices on cotton resulted due to the peasants' resistance against the government. In some areas they went to the extent that they removed the cotton seeds which they had planted on the pretext that the soil was not suitable for cotton cultivation. The government needed to send Army officers and soldiers to supervise their work in 1834. They were found by them very lethargic towards cotton cultivation because of two reasons. Firstly until 1836 they were not paid in cash, but rather in tax credits, secondly, due to the labor problems. It was due to the fact that cotton cultivation needed more manpower and the amount of labor power in the villages was declining due to conscription, corvee and flight.

Besides these Mohammad Ali laid down strict rules as to how cotton should be produced. These rules were based on the advice of his foreign experts. These were later codified in the "*La'hat zira, ah al – Fallah*" (Regulation of peasant agriculture). As per the orders of the government various intermediate government officials, called *mamur*, *nazir*, *hakim al-khatt*, were involved in this process. From these government officials' orders were passed to the '*qaimmaqa*' and village shaykhs. Village shaykhs were the direct supervisors of the peasant labor. It was obligatory for these shaykhs to visit the fields' everyday so that

peasant labours could be inspected and work in the fields should be continued without any delay and carelessness of the labourers.

The government interfered in the peasant work to such an extent that peasants had to plant according to the government's 'order'. It also ordered them when and how to plant. They were also pressurized by the government to deliver the crops at the prices fixed by the government. Not only this, but peasants had to pay the transport charges of their product to the government depot. In the evaluation of their production in the depot agents often cheated them. This became the reason that these peasants became lethargic and sometimes the resistance on their part against the government was also seen.

Another important point was that during Mohammad Ali's reign peasants had to work far from their hands. Often the situation came when they had to supply their own food, water and tools receiving few benefits in return to their work. This also resulted in their becoming lethargic and surreptitious resistance.⁷

Although Mohammad Ali's efforts of industrialization did not reach the top level of success, yet he laid down various schemes to build up a modern industry. He took a number of measures in the modernization of the industry that included the agricultural industry also. By 1930 machinery was started to be imported from Europe, along with technicians that helped in the production of cotton, woolen, silk and linen

textiles sugar, paper, glass, leather, sulphuric acid and other chemicals etc. Besides these government plants, arsenal, and simple machinery and spare parts were produced in these industries where 30,000-40,000 persons worked. However, in bureaucracy, army and, navy trained men were required so that they may be able to use modern techniques. For this purpose over 300 students were sent to Europe.

Apart from industrial developments trade, during Mohammad Ali's period, was also monopolized by the government. By direct controlling the trade, crops were bought by Mohammad Ali from the farmers at low fixed prices which were⁸ resold to the foreign countries at great profits. For the promotion of trade Alexandria was developed and made a great center of trade. With this trade relations with Europe were strengthened. The construction of the Mahmudian canal concentrated all the import and export trade which was earlier shared with Damietta Rosetta, and Alexandria. Later it was connected by water with the markets of Cairo the villages of Upper Egypt and the Delta. At that time, Alexandria's population consisted of foreigners among whom most were Greeks and Italians who settled there because of their connections with the port's foreign trade. At the end of Mohammad Ali's reign about 6,000 of the permanent Alexandrian residents were foreigners. Till the time of Mohammad Ali, the citizens of the towns were more or less exempted

from direct taxation but during his regime Mohammad Ali got success in imposing a head tax that was known as “jazieh” on the town- dwellers.⁹

EFFECTS OF MOHAMMAD ALI’S ECONOMIC REFORMS:

All these economic policies introduced by Mohammad Ali had some negative effects, though through these reforms he wanted to lay down the foundations of a balanced, diversified economy that would raised the level of living. The matter of fact is that it did not happen.¹⁰ These reforms disrupted the rural and urban life with diminishing impact on the lower strata. The social cost of these economic changes was borne by the rural and urban lower strata. The top socio economic class got benefited with these policies and changes. With this a small military administrative elite emerged with the commercial notability and along with a group of European merchants started getting maximum profits. These people were entitled to accumulate wealth and improve their position in society in return of their services to the Pasha. Moreover, health services were also enjoyed by the Ottoman Egyptian elite.¹¹ Mohammad Ali was, primarily, interested in building up a modern army and navy to safeguard his position and to extend his influence, but his defeat in 1841 by western powers; and compulsory reduction of his armed forces, removed most of the incentives of industrialization. This also happened due to the “Anglo-Turkish convention” of 1838 that enabled foreign traders to extend their trade anywhere within the Ottoman dominions including Egypt.

Unfortunately due to European industry's competition Mohammad Ali's factories began to decline. The failure of Mohammad Ali's economic policies failed due to the above factors. The economy of the country lagged behind which was not, in any way, in the interest of the country. This became a great obstacle in the economic development of Egypt. This obstacle continued until 1930 due to the lack of political autonomy. Besides this, economic development requires considerable aid in the form of tariff protection, tax exemptions, transport rates, cheap power, and special credit facilities to certain sectors, educational policies which could be provided by such a government that should be independent in political and fiscal field. But Egypt did not enjoy such independence except for a brief period. Even the tariff was fixed by the conventions concluded between the Ottoman government and the great European powers. At that time, Egypt was not in a position to impose direct tax due to the said convention on foreigners without their government's consent.¹²

Mohammad Ali is said to be responsible for the reforms which included Egypt with the world economy. With it the international monetary system crisis of 1836-37 affected the cotton prices by bringing it down and dried up the Pasha's credit sources in Alexandria. This created difficulties to the Syrian government. At that time the Egyptian administration became unpopular. The Increase in taxation, the introduction of a tight system of monopolies, a "gun control" policy, the

imposition of corvees and unrest resulted in a number of sporadic revolts. This lack of natural, technical and managerial resources affected the factories. By the late 1830s few plants were left working and because of this much revenue was lost to the state.

Having seen this economic crisis Mohammad Ali Pasha had to come back to his initial policy of direct administration. From 1838 he granted sizeable tracts of land to members of his family creating the basis for large landed estates '*ciftliks*'. With this he also established the '*Uhda* system' to distribute to the members of the Ottoman Egyptian elite the middle size-estates that comprised villages whose taxes had not been paid. These holders had to guarantee the amounts owed to the treasury in return for the right to cultivate with corvee labour for their own profit. This was a return to the old practice which the Pasha had eradicated during the period from 1810.¹³

Whatever economic development was made during Mohammad Ali's rule in Egypt like the growth of export, cotton, rice, indigo and crops, industries and trade etc, made possible the extensive employment of foreign experts, including Frenchmen, Englishmen and other Europeans. The reformed structure introduced by Mohammad Ali in the economic field was known as the "state capitalism". In this system the money was controlled by Mohammad Ali while working responsibility was on the Egyptians and foreigners who were hired by Mohammad Ali's

government. Regarding these foreign servants, it is said that they were the servants and not the masters of the Egyptian state during Mohammad Ali's rule. A distinguish mark of the period is his ruling that though he had to depend on foreign powers in various situations, but economically he was free from foreign dependency and that he dealt his own matters.¹⁴ It is clear from his system of monopoly that all the industrial craft and agricultural production that was made by Egypt was controlled directly by the government. This was a centralized regulation of the country's economy. This system of monopoly developed during the period of 1816 to 1820 when the peasants and the artisan householders had to work under the supervision of the government officials. The government also possessed the right to purchase and sell whatever good's the country had produced. Along with agricultural products the government also monopolized the production and purchase of yarn, cloth, kerchiefs, salt, petrol, soap, soda, sugar and other goods. The state was the only supplier of Egyptian goods in the home market and the only exporter and the retail dealers in the towns turned into virtual government agents for trade monopoly.¹⁵

Although Mohammad Ali's reforms were of a progressive nature, with a monopolized system but due to certain reasons the government had to face various revolts. Basically Mohammad Ali was a true reformer including in the economical field. Through these reforms he wanted to

develop the country in all walks of life including industry, trade; and commerce. By his efforts the trade of the country became international when on the one hand, he exported the Egyptian products including the agricultural products to various countries, and on the other hand, he imported different things to the country. By his efforts and interest the agriculture of the country reached its height.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS:

Introduction of various progressive reforms by Mohammad Ali, in almost all the fields also consist a number of educational reforms. Through these reforms, he wanted to develop Egypt into a powerful state. He made the European countries the model of education for his country and developed the educational system of the country on their pattern. For the purpose to modernize the education in the country he needed to employ a large number of experts and technicians who could import education to the Egyptians and at the same time established modern state school at various places. He dispatched Egyptians on educational missions to Europe so that they could receive education of modern science and their skills required by various departments could be provided.

At the initial stage Mohammad Ali's educational policy had limited goals because he wanted to form a group of experts with the capability of performing specific tasks for the state, particularly for the armed forces.

As Mohammad Ali's prime goal of introducing educational policy was to make the Egypt a powerful country, it required strong armed forces. However, he insisted upon the total government supervision, as well as over the selection of students for the schools who were at that time treated as soldiers under military supervision. With his efforts it seems to be clear that Mohammad Ali brought educational reforms in order to strengthen the Egyptian army with the help of the experts who were trained by the foreigners.

Though himself not a very educated person, Mohammad Ali is credited with developing education during his period to a high extent. He was the first person to divert his attention to the development of western education in Egypt so that the country might also develop on their pattern. His period was first in the history of Egypt when scholarly and intellectual development began for the purpose of the development of education, two greatest achievements are ascribed to him. They are the foundation of the schools of languages and translation; and the founding of a printing press.

Italy had strong commercial relations with Egypt since the middle Ages and Italian language was the first foreign language that had influenced Egypt during the rule of Mohammad Ali. In this regard Yaquub Atin pasha remarked that Italian was most commonly used foreign language in Egypt until 1820. It had influenced Egypt to such an extent

that it became the first foreign language taught to the officer cadets in the early citadel school erected by Mohammad Ali. Not only this, but the first Egyptian students were sent to Italian cities like Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome. Their mission was to learn printing, letter-making and shipbuilding. The first educational mission of 1809 to 1816 was said to be the period of training the Egyptians in the art of printing. This resulted in the establishment of the state printing press in 1822 that started operating at Bulaq. In the same year the first book was printed in this press and published. Furthermore, an Italian Arabic dictionary was also prepared by Rafael Takhur.

Mohammad Ali's interest arose in the establishment of a government press at the time when he became concerned for the issuance and wide distribution of laws, regulations, order and ordinances throughout the country. Apart from this he was also concerned with the provision of newly founded schools. In this connection, the required materials for printing press were first imported from Italy that included the Arabic, Italian and Greek letters. Due to the efforts of Mohammad Ali it did not take much time for Egypt to become capable of manufacturing ink and paper. Both the press and the factories of paper and ink required technicians who were first recruited from amongst Syrians, Armenians and Italians. Mohammad Ali viewed the printing press as one of the best means of transferring European knowledge to Egypt. Gradually, with the

development in this field smaller printing presses were established in the military schools and other government administrative departments.

Establishment of the printing press, for the publication of government decrees, orders and regulations, played a significant role in establishing a regular communication between central authority and the provinces and making administration more effective. Later on, Mohammad Ali viewed the printing press as another important facility for strengthening his rule in the country. Nicola Masabki became an important person who was sent to study at Milan in the techniques of printing. He studied there for four years. After completing his study he returned to Egypt and setup the first Arabic press “Sahib al-Saada” in the Alexandria Arsenal. This press later moved to Bulaq. Other printing presses were established in the Tura Artillery School, in the Medical School at Abu Zabal, in the Cavalry School at Giza, and in the Citadel.

In 1827 the “Khedivial Journal” was printed in both Turkish and Arabic at the citadel press. This Journal was contented with the news covering the ruler’s decrees and decisions as a daily report issued by the office of the Pasha. Besides this the official Gazette namely “*Al-waqa’il al-misriyya*” was published. This was a more detailed report of the events, decisions and regulations throughout the country. Like this Khedivial Journal, the Gazette was also published in both Turkish and Arabic languages. This Journal was not published daily in the beginning

but more than thrice a week. Another paper namely "*Le Moniteur Egyptian*" also appeared in French language during 1832 -1833 at the Ras al-Tin press in Alexandria. This paper was founded by the members of the foreign community residing in Alexandria with the support of Mohammad Ali. He supported it with a view that it would serve as an organ for the defense of his policies to foreign readers. As "*Le Moniteur Ottomans*" was issued to propagate against Mohammad Ali in Turkey, he wanted with "*La Moniteur Egyptian*" to counter it in the same language in his favor among the foreigners especially franks. But this paper did not appear after March 1834 until its revival by khedive Ismail in 1874.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES:

Along with focusing on the printing press in Egypt Mohammad Ali also formulated policies for the establishment of the schools of languages and Translations. The professional schools in the course of engineering, agriculture and medicine were established in different parts of Egypt to educate the people of the country. For this purpose Europeans and Levantines were appointed in these schools. Alongwith this preparatory schools were founded by Mohammad Ali Pasha to prepare recruits for the higher professional colleges. These colleges were also to be supervised by European experts and professionals for a long time. In a medical college founded in 1827 European instructors were appointed to teach the Egyptians but language was a major problem in imparting education to

the Egyptian students. To combat this problem Mohammad Ali Pasha founded a school of languages namely "*Madrasat al-alsun*" in 1835 in order to train the translators both for the classrooms and for preparation of manuals and texts to be studied by the students. These schools were founded because all the Egyptian students could be sent abroad to study the required foreign languages. However, an elaborate scheme of groups of translators was devised for each professional school. The first trainee of the school was Azhar students and teachers who had the knowledge of Arabic language. The need for the translation of texts and their availability to the state school generated an interest in Mohammad Ali. The students studying abroad collected European books which became the basis of the creation of the first small state libraries in the country. To the first state library contribution was made by Uthman Nur al-Din who was one of the first Egyptian students sent to France to study there. He brought a collection of French texts with him which he put in a library at Bulaq palace of Ibrahim Pasha which became the first state library in the reign of Mohammad Ali.¹⁶

Along with all these reformative activities in the educational field Mohammad Ali founded a number of schools and colleges in Egypt. In the foundation of such schools he had to face certain difficulties. Although he opened schools all over the country but unfortunately the parents of the children did not agree to send their children to those

schools, not even with the declaration of the facility of fooding and clothing for them at the expense of the state. However, Mohammad Ali decreed that all children attending schools should receive monthly stipend in cash. This was in fact pocket money and a sort of bribe to the students. As there was no educational atmosphere in Egypt, Mohammad Ali wanted to make education common, therefore, the children were frequently brought in chains to the schools. The schools that were established at various places could accommodate about 9000 children. The colleges, established at various places, were about 1500 in number. Mohammad Ali's own sons were also brought up there. Such was therefore, called the "school of the princes" however, Mohammad Ali established the following sixteen outstanding schools in different parts of Egypt:

- School of Military Music in 1824
- Preparatory Military
- School al Qasn al-'Aini' in 1825
- School of Medicine al Abu za 'bal' in 1827
- School of Infantry in 1831
- School of Cavalry in 1831
- School of Artillery in 1831
- School of Navy in 1831
- School of Veterinary in 1831

- School of Mining in 1831
- School of Engineering in 1834
- School of Midwifery in 1837
- School of Accountancy in 183
- School of Languages and Translation in 1837
- School on Industry and Arts in 1839 ¹⁷

One of the important features of Mohammad Ali's education system in Egypt was that it was based on "Mosque schools" namely '*Madarsa*' and '*Kuttab*'. *Kuttab* was the place where young boys were taught. There they learned to read and write. There they were made to memorize and understand the holy Quran. It is worth mentioning that the *Kuttab* were not like a formal school in which students took admission at a prescribed age, but it was place where students came at any age and in an irregular manner, and stopped attending the *Kuttab* whenever they memorized the Quran. On the other hand, a formal educational institution that became the most important '*Madarsa*' was founded in the 'Al Azhar mosque' which became a great religious and cultural center throughout the Islamic world. This educational structure was financed privately by the wealthy Muslims. Its income was also from the religious endowments called "*Awqaf*". From this it is evident that this educational structure was not controlled by the government. Students went there from all the corners of the Muslim world. Its organization and studies were not based

on the modern pattern but was medieval and outmoded. Though it produced ecclesiastical lawyers but it never intended to produce statesmen and administrators. Moreover the education given in Al-Azhar had no connection with the western education.¹⁸ Under his educational mission Mohammad Ali sent eleven successive missions of students to Europe that began in 1813 and continued until 1847. In this mission three hundred and nineteen young Egyptians were sent to different educational institutions in all to acquire the knowledge of different fields including medicine, law, civil administration, physical science, chemistry, mathematics, engineering, mechanics, printing, mineralogy, agriculture and irrigation, textile and dyeing industries, military science and the manufacture of arms and navigation and ship building. In this mission more students went to France, while some other went to England, Italy and Austria.¹⁹ The criteria for the selection of candidates for educational missions were not of religious or social standing. Most of these students were from poor families and travelled at government expense. Some of the early students sent to Europe to acquire knowledge included Petru Effendi, Yusuf Istifan, Mohammad Ahmad al-Falaki, Paul George Jiyani, and Yusuf al-Nabarawi etc.²⁰

Mohammad Ali was very much concerned about their studies abroad. To monitor their studies, he asked to them to send regular reports of progress which he personally read and directly corresponded with the

students to motivate them to acquire all the knowledge without wasting their precious time, so that they could contribute towards building a powerful Egypt. Results were seen in 1833 when a polytechnic was established with a teaching staff consisting of two Europeans only. One was for chemistry and the other for mathematics. There were four Armenians, one of whom had spent ten years at Stoneyhurst, and six Muslims. Three among them had been educated at Paris and three in England.²¹

In fact, Mohammad Ali's educational reforms were not only for the reason that he wanted an "educated country" or he was very much concerned with the literacy of Egyptians, but also because he had a pragmatic approach: he thought that these very bright young men would serve as a basis upon which the ruler could build a viable government infrastructure. This approach becomes very clear from his statement to his son Ibrahim Pasha when he requested his father to open new schools to educate native Egyptians, that "he had no intention of spreading education among the masses in Egypt. He told his son to look at what happened to European monarchs when they attempted to educate the poor. He added that he should satisfy himself with educating a limited number of people who could assume key positions in his administration and give up ideas about generalizing education."²²

The viceroy strongly advised against spreading education beyond the recruits for the state service:

“What Europe is suffering from is the result of generalizing the education among all levels of society so they are involved they have no chance of avoiding what happened so if this is an example in front of us, so our duty is to just teach them how to read and write to a certain limit in order to accomplish satisfied work and not to spread education beyond this point.”²³

When Mohammad Ali came to power in Egypt, he brought the educational facilities under the direct supervision of the government. Educational reforms were introduced to upgrade its quality. Both forms of education, one as apprenticeship, and the other as formal schooling were kept and supported during Mohammad Ali's rule. *kuttabs* were left in the hands of the Sheikhs and continued to provide basic education to Egypt's young. But along with this a new educational system was built from the top down. Such a new educational system was started with advanced technical schools and ended with primary schools. In Egypt, it was necessary to graduate specialized students who could then become teachers for those at the elementary level. Students studying in the *kuttab* only had inadequate knowledge for either the specialized schools or the various needs of a modern state. However, a new class of preparatory schools, to be attached to the specialized schools, was started.²⁴

Mohammad Ali's goal was not mass education, but it was limited and specialized education. He founded modern professional schools like "Qasr al Ainy". Through it he wanted to create a trained and competent group of Egyptian civil servants who would serve his expanding bureaucracy. Some important professional schools opened by him were:

- School of Engineering- 1820
- School of Medicine- 1827
- School of Law- 1867
- Teacher training college- 1880²⁵

Over the period of his reign Mohammad Ali founded a number of specialized schools, of higher education. Important Military colleges were also appeared. Among seven military colleges six were located at one spot "Khanka". Four Medical schools were opened, three of them constituted different departments of a single school. The "School of Engineering" was earliest school that was opened by Pasha, for to graduate engineers, to build the infrastructure of a new Egypt that included railways, roads, irrigation projects and factories. These specialized schools were not established all at once but at the beginning each was setup separately and was given opportunity to grow on solid premises based on its own particular needs before being centralized under one governmental body.

These specialized schools brought the Egyptian society on the verge of change in its structure and outlooks during Mohammad Ali's rule. As a brand new class was to form by lower classes who graduated from the specialized schools. Thus the new class was defined as the middle class, the educated, "*Afandi*" means a person having capability to read and write; it was used as a title like 'Mr'. The *Afandiya* represented the future professional classes as well as the government bureaucracy. These *Afandiya* were sent to Europe for advanced training and returned to serve their nation. Professionalism was the characteristic of this class who belonged to different professions. These people had a new outlook based on specialized knowledge which distinguished them from other Egyptians who respected them for their exclusive and specialized knowledge. Apart from these Egyptians Mohammad Ali's educational reforms also extended to elite Turkish groups in the country. These Turkish elite were more sophisticated in their knowledge and outlook than the Egyptians. They paid their educational expenses themselves. In fact, these Turkish elites were given preference by Mohammad Ali in recruitment for his schools. But they were not interested in any institution. In military field, they were well qualified and were given leadership posts as officers.²⁶

After the establishment of specialized schools, primary schools came into being with a responsibility to formulate rules and regulations for the system. In Cairo and Alexandria first five schools were to be

opened in the provinces having 100 students each. Forty schools were established in Lower Egypt and twenty six in Upper Egypt. Each school enrolled 100 students who were aged eight to twelve years, the period of study being three years.

About students' strength in schools, it was said that there were some 9,000 students in Egypt in 1839-40, divided as:

Schools	No of students
Special school	2,761
Primary school	4,971-5,500
Preparatory school	2,111 ²⁷

All these students were supported by the government in the form of free education, books and supplies, expenses of for lodging food and pocket money.

Most of the schools were organized under 'consultative body' that was given the responsibility to supervise their administration and development. This committee was established by the "*Diwan al Jihadiya*" ie. (Military council) so, it was thought that these schools were under the authority of the *diwan*. But reality was that the civil schools were controlled by another body, the "*Diwan al-ali*" ie (Supreme council). The matters of recruitment and transfer of students and the appointment of teachers were decided by the *diwan al-ali*, but orders were issued by the *diwan al- jihadiya*. A conflict took place between the

diwan and school administration as *diwan* put supervision over the schools. However, by 1838 a *diwan* was created for educational facilities, and to fulfill all responsibility for the school whether it was administrative or technical. The establishment of *diwan* became the foundation of the 'centralized system of education' which was the main feature of Mohammad Ali's educational policy in Egypt.²⁸

A medical school, at Abu Zabal was founded by Mohammad Ali in 1827 to train doctors and provide service to the health needs of the Egyptians. It became an academic institution which played a crucial role in the creation of medical professionals in Egypt. About this, one of Egypt's foremost doctors, Naguib Mahfouz (1882-1974) stated that it was in the era of Mohammad Ali that medicine had its true beginning as a modern institution in Egypt. From here Egypt's school of Medicine and adjoined hospital, Qasr al-Aini, and its foundation role in creating a medical profession starts.²⁹ This medical institution was opened with a hundred students who were chosen from al-Azhar, consisting of eight teaching staff as physicians who were French and held posts in the army. There was a provision of interpreters, who were assigned the duty to assist the professors through attending their courses and translating their lectures into Arabic. The program of the French medical education was followed by the Cairo school. The course was of six years as in Paris. Such a school's structure included a hospital, a library, a museum and a

botanical garden for medical plants and herbs. Besides this school, there were several other schools also with the medical sciences; 'a School of Midwifery' a 'School of pharmacy' and another of 'Veterinary Science'.

Certain medical missions were started by Pasha, under which students were sent abroad. The first medical mission comprised of twelve students who went to Paris in 1832 accompanied by Clot Bey, who was the Director of the Medical school. This mission carried on up to eight years. After coming back to their country some of them were appointed professors in the school of medicine while remaining got the opportunity to be placed in army and hospitals. These first medical pioneers contributed in the urgent task of translation that resulted in the translation of a considerable number of important medical books into Arabic within two decades.

However, two major difficulties were encountered in the field of medicine one was the language of teaching; and the other was the practice of dissection. Thus, to solve the teaching language problem a special commission was composed which was given the task of translating into Arabic of those text books which were necessary for medicine. Thus fifty two books were translated. Regarding this difficulty one of the later directors of the school of Medicine stated on the occasion of the reopening of the school of Medicine in 1869 that:

“When Mohammad Ali entrusted to Clot Bey the foundation of the school of Medicine, Clot Bey accepted the glorious mission and unhesitatingly set himself to work. The difficulties were at that time almost surmountable. The Egyptian populations were then mostly illiterate. No one could be found who knew a European language except one Syrian (Monsier Anhoury) who knew Italian. He was employed for this purpose, and all the French text-books were first translated by him into Arabic”.

Since Egyptians were ignorant of the European language, so lectures in Medical school were given by the professors in French and then translated in Arabic by interpreters and then dictated to them. Clot Bey viewed this teaching method and realized that students remained cut off from all medical literature and that is why they could not progress beyond a certain point. However, he made the provision to teach French to all students of medicine compulsory. For this purpose a small school was established near the hospital where Monsieur Vcelli taught French to the students.

In this way, with the passage of time the number, of student sent to Europe for higher education grew day by day and reached to 319 since 1813 to 1834. During Mohammad Ali's reign the number of diploma students from the school of medicine increased to 1500.³⁰

Clot Bey was appointed by Mohammad Ali Pasha to the school of medicine in 1827. The reason, behind appointing Clot Bey to the school of Medicine, was Mohammad Ali's vision to apply the Ottoman or western models that would serve his state building project, making Egypt a powerful country. Achieving this purpose, Mohammad Ali brought Clot from Marseilles so that he could organize the Egyptian medical system.³¹ Within a short period Clot Bey suggested the formation of a "Health council" which consisted of three foreign counsels in Egypt to direct all the health services in the country. After a certain period he himself became a member of the council.³² Initially, he was appointed as the physician and surgeon in-chief of Ali's new army that numbered 150,000 soldiers who were spread over Cairo and other parts of Egypt. Not only this but also at Sennar, Kordofan, the Hejaz and Crete. During first two years of his service Clot reorganized the medical service in order to provide facilities to the army; and to sanitary reforms due to the spread of plague through Cairo in 1824.³³ He wanted to employ more doctors in order to supply the needs of army of 150,000 and to cope with the ravages of cholera and small pox. As it was not the easy task to call the physicians, sanitary officers and pharmacists from Europe because they were not aware of Arabic language and needed the interpreters who could understand French. But they were not easily available.³⁴ Thus, he paid his attention towards creating a hospital to meet the immediate needs of the

army. For this, he chose a village located 700 meters from the military camp on the northern outskirts of Cairo. This village was known as “Abu Zabal” which became the location of the new military hospital. It was constructed in 1827. Its architecture was planned by Clot himself, and it was meant to be “equipped and staffed according to most modern principles. Each side of the new building measured 200 meters. It could hold 800-1000 patients. About 150 European officers and apothecaries and assistants mostly Italian and French were appointed. In the central courtyard of this one-storied hospital he planned a large botanical garden, which became of great use to the students when the school of medicine was founded”.

Another military hospital was also established by Mohammad Ali, in the same year i.e. the ‘naval hospital’ in Alexandria. But later on he directed his attention towards the general population which resulted into the conversion of a large service hospital of Cairo and Alexandria from military to civil institutions. He founded small, hospitals in Egypt’s principal cities in order to provide medical services to the employers in government factories. This work was done by him after a tour of Upper Egypt in 1846. Apart from these government workers hospitals, he also setup civil hospitals in Rosetta, Damietta, and Suez ‘Uzbekiyah’ was Cairo’s first civil hospital.

Along with these civil-hospitals, Mohammad Ali also setup free clinics to treat Egyptians. Four clinics were established in 1845 and another four by 1848. These were assigned the duty of more extensive preventive measures. The Ministry of Public instructions was given the responsibility to provide staff of trained doctors. These doctors were to provide treatment to all, especially to the poor. These centers were fulfilling their responsibility to have a proper health care by vaccinating children for smallpox and taking appropriate steps to prevent plague outbreaks, and also offered free consultation for all the city's inhabitants.

Thus, the medical and educational institutions established by Mohammad Ali in Egypt are praiseworthy. At the period of French invasion the science of medicine had declined into ignorance and imposture.³⁵

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34. Aqilur Rahman, Thesis, 1972, p. 81.
35. Hibba Abugideiri, op. cit., pp. 26, 47.

Mohammad Ali was the most remarkable character in the modern history of the Turkish province. He is usually known as Mohammad Ali in the west Mehmet Ali Pasha as he would have called himself. He was born in 1769 in the Macedonian part of Kavalla. He was either an Albanian ancestry or the descendant of Turks long resident among Albanians. As part of the Ottoman Albania corps of the Ottoman army, he was sent to reclaim Egypt for the Ottoman Sultan from the French army. It was the year of 1805, when he was appointed as the Pasha of Egypt.

In the history of Egypt, Mohammad Ali is known for those major reforms which he brought during his rule. He served Egypt throughout his life with the aim to build it as a powerful country. Because of his progressive work, Mohammad Ali was known as the “father of modern Egypt.” He was a shrewd ruler who knew enough the supremacy of European arms, technical knowledge, and education. Even he invited the French to teach his followers and formed new army and navy with the latest weapons by bringing French naval and military experts to Egypt. Along with these changes he also opened various schools based on the model of France and also to make translation of French books into Arabic. He brought agricultural experts and by 1815 had monopolized trade in cotton, hemp and indigo. By the time of his death in 1849 Mohammad Ali had overhauled the administration and revitalized the

economy of Egypt. He created a hierarchy of officials who oversaw the collection of taxes, controlled irrigation, and maintained public order.

When Mohammad Ali inherited government in Egypt, it was probably in the worst condition of all the Ottoman provinces. The Mamluks had done nothing but oppress it. He said “when I came to Egypt it was really barbarous, utterly barbarous. Barbarous it remains to this day. Still I hope that my labors have rendered its condition somewhat better than it was. You must not however be shocked if you do not find in these countries the civilization which prevails in Europe.”

It was Mohammad Ali whose 43 years (1905-48) of rule produced extraordinary changes in Egypt. During his rule the village was became the unit of administration with its head- man the ‘*Shaikh al- belad*’, who was representing the ruler in every capacity. Again these villages were grouped in subdivisions, under the ‘*Hakim al- Khut*’, which were formed into sixty one districts, each under a ‘*Mamur*’. To maintain a moderate degree of honesty and justice, a close, active and perpetual supervision was needed. Later, he made all his chief officials swear to serve him honestly whose duty was to report any abuse of authority that came within their knowledge. He was well aware that punishment was necessary for any abuse. In 1830 through an twenty five officials of middle Egypt were to undergo for six months hard labour and in 1833 the *mamurs* were warned that they would be punished if they compelled the

servants of government to till land within their jurisdiction. Another case was of 1836 when a village Sheikh was ordered to be executed if he proved to be guilty of beating a man to death without provocation. The most important requisite and to check the misconduct of officials are the frequent inspection which was always done by Mohammad Ali. Often He went on tour enquiring with the utmost into the state of the accounts and the general administration and during such inspection he travelled without a guard.

Another important change brought by him was that he was not in the favour of the continuity of the Turks' superiority in administration because he did not trust on Turks very far. He sought as far as possible to replace them by Arabs. So, in 1826 no less than forty five young men, the sons of Arab Sheikhs and others, were sent to France to be educated there. Mohammad Ali had found that he could not prudently go too far in the employment of Arabs. The Turks, as a foreign observer said, "Always stole more decently than the Arabs".

Another most important characteristic of Mohammad Ali's rule was that he developed and enlarged the practice of discussing public business before proceeding to any action. In 1819 he set up a council or *Diwan* comprising of seven persons to manage and discuss transaction between the Treasury and European merchants. This system was applied to all departments of the central government and was more widely

extended in 1829. But these developments in administration were generally misconceived as philosophic Radicals and Saint Simonies claimed Mohammad Ali as a convert to Western democracy. And the one said that the pasha's experiments were more tricks designed to impress European opinion, and others that they meant the establishment of representative government.

As for as his financial management was concerned, he got extraordinary success in this field. Onlookers were anticipating his financial ruin and declaring his wars and internal projects would ruin him as well as country. In 1827, when he was burdened with the cost of the war in the Morea at the moment that his resources were strained by two successive failures of the Nile to attain its usual height he still went on building factories, and constructing a mole and dockyard at Alexandria. In the matter of accountancy, Mohammad Ali Pasha was willing to learn and borrow from the European. It becomes clear when he sought advice in the matter of accountancy from Bowring when he visited Egypt in 1838. All the public accounts were produced for inspection before him. He made a number of recommendations for their improvement such as the introduction of a budget of receipts and expenditure of the beginning of each year, payment of all revenues into the central treasury, the complete separation of the power to receive and issue public money and

the establishment of the power in the Finance Minister to sanction or reject proposed expenditure etc.

Since Mohammad Ali's development strategy was based on agriculture so he expanded the area under cultivation and planted crops specifically for export, such as long-staple cotton, rice, indigo, and sugarcane. The surplus income from agricultural production was used for public works, such as irrigation, canals, dams, and barrages, and to finance industrial development and the military. The development plans hinged on the state's gaining a monopoly over the country's agricultural resources. In practical terms, this meant the peasants were told what crops to plant, in what quantity, and over what area. The government bought directly from the peasants and sold directly to the buyer, cutting out the intermediaries or merchants.

Mohammad Ali was also committed to the industrial development of Egypt. For this purpose he set up modern factories for weaving cotton, jute, silk, and wool. Workers were drafted into factories to weave on government looms. Factories for sugar, indigo, glass, and tanning were set up with the assistance of foreign advisers and imported machinery. Industries employed about 4 percent of the population or between 180,000 and 200,000 persons fifteen years of age and over. The textile industry was protected by embargoes imposed by the government to prohibit the import of the cheap British textiles that had flooded the

Egyptian market. Commercial activities were geared toward the establishment of foreign trade monopolies and an attempt to acquire a favorable balance of trade.

In terms of education, Mohammad Ali's policy may have started as part of his attempt to create a modern army and navy. Yet he always believed in the power of knowledge patronized the members of the educational missions which he sent abroad. On their return they shared their knowledge by translating books from European languages. It is narrated that he once "cut a geography book into three portions with his sword and put three men to work on translating it, because he had been told it would take three months to translate". Until 1837 education was administered by the War department but in that year a department of education was created with a president, three permanent and six consultant members, and a secretary. By 1840 two large preparatory schools, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria, and about fifty primary schools had been established throughout the country. In cooperation with other government departments, the council maintained also a number of specialist military and medical schools. Meanwhile, several students holding government scholarships were studying in Europe. The first of these missions had been sent in 1813 with fifteen students, following mainly military studies. By the end of Mohammad Ali's reign (1849) eleven missions had been sent to England, Italy, France and the states.

Mohammad Ali continued to rule Egypt after his defeat in Syria. He became increasingly senile towards the end of his rule and his eldest son, Ibrahim, petitioned the Ottoman government to be appointed governor because of his father's inability to rule. Ibrahim was gravely ill of tuberculosis, however, and ruled for only five months, from July to November 1848 and Abbas takes over in December. Mohammad Ali died in August 1849.

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